

THE Nonconformist.

"THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION."

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ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

THE CHURCHMAN'S MIRROR.

No. III.

A TEST FOR THE TRIAL OF FUTURE ARGUMENT.

Cassius.—"Tell me, good Brutus, can you see your face?"
Brutus.—"No, Cassius: for the eye sees not itself,
But by reflection, by some other things."

NOT for ornament, but for use, do we cap the present article with the above quotation from our dramatic bard. It is a lighted taper which, unless we deceive ourselves, will serve to throw a gleam upon those sources, commonly veiled in darkness, out of which rush perennial streams of error. The mind, like the eye, sees itself distinctly, only when the image of its thoughts is given back by the glass of some clear, but indisputable truth. Were there no mirrors in the world, whether as supplied by nature or by art, wrapt in what fond delusions as to the true expression of our own countenances might we go about among our fellows. Unable to confront ourselves, and evermore within doors, what should we know of the aspect presented by our features to those who see them as they are? How easy for us to pique ourselves upon a beauty which exists only in our own flattering imagination! How possible as well as pleasing, to ascribe all harsh criticisms to envy or ill-nature, to disbelieve unfavourable reports, to be convinced, in the very teeth of facts, that our eyes look straight-forward, and that their colour as well as their lustre is just what our notions of comeliness would have prescribed! And oh! what a crowd of shining day-dreams would one peep in the glass put to instant flight!

Very similar is the predicament of mind. Our prejudices, opinions, arguments, theories, can hardly be suspected of imperfection, whilst we look through them. In order to judge correctly of their colour, weight, or worth, we must look at them as they are, imaged by some unquestionable truth. It is only when we see our thoughts, as it were, outside of ourselves—when we can view them relatively to some other thing—when, by the aid of some external light we can peer into them, instead of from behind them, that we can determine truly what, and of what class, they are. Hence the importance, in every controversy, of agreeing in the outset, upon the principles, admitted by both parties, to the test of which all arguments must be brought. It will save much time, and interminable disputes, to set up a glass, into which each may in turn gaze upon the features of his own cause. This we cannot regard as wholly impracticable. At all events we shall make the attempt.

We are about to hear, to examine, and to decide upon arguments put forth by the advocates of the state-church principle, in favour of that ecclesiastical system which they maintain to be the wisest and the best. The proof they offer is intended of course to establish some conclusion, which we, equally with them, must hold to be decisive of the whole controversy. That conclusion, be it what it may, must be the statutory law to which all pleadings must be conformed, the standard by which all reasonings must be measured, the mirror in which all arguments must be made to see themselves. Well! what is it? What is that common truth to which Dissenters and Churchmen may reasonably agree to refer their dispute?

We think it may be found in the special object of the Christian scheme.

That Christianity came into the world to accomplish something of unspeakable importance to the interests of men—that to do its own work, and fulfil its own mission, is the very highest end which it can be made to compass—and that all means and appliances, whatever incidental good their use may confer, must be regarded as failures, except in so far as they contribute to promote this end—will, we think, be not

admitted merely, but insisted upon, by all parties. The arrangements and institutions which do not help revealed truth to do what it was originally intended to do, can hardly be said to be such as Christians in the exercise of their reason are bound to adopt. It is to be proved, then, that establishments are of all systems the best fitted to give practical development to the designs of Christianity. Towards this point we must courteously, but firmly, insist that all evidence shall wend its way. Let this be demonstrated, and we shall acknowledge ourselves to have been in error. But until this position be made good, we must hold ourselves excused for refusing to surrender.

We cannot be mistaken, we apprehend, in supposing that we have herein the substance out of which the requisite mirror may be fashioned. The substance, we say—for in the rough state in which we have presented it it would prove comparatively worthless. Its surface must be polished into evenness and brightness by some further elaboration, before it can be made to give back, with infallible accuracy, the real aspect of the arguments which are set before us. This also, we think, may be accomplished.

There will be little danger, perhaps, of serious disagreement between our opponents and ourselves, as to the nature of the work which Christianity assumes to perform. It finds men, individually, averse to the divine Government—it seeks, by the exhibition of the divine character and purposes, thoroughly to reconcile them to it. It appeals to the will through the medium of reason and sympathy. It gives light that it may beget love. It tells its simple, touching, and sublime tale, with a view to change our thoughts of Him to whom it relates, to interest our affections in Him, to elicit our confidence and to remodel our course. It is with the individual, essential, imperishable man—with that which, rejecting all accidents, we call, "I myself"—with the central entity of which all that is apparent to us can be nothing more than various modifications—that Christianity has to do. Its business is a private one. Whatever it says to the world, it says, specifically and directly, to every individual of whom the world is composed. It takes no answer by proxy. It does nothing in the gross. It reaches general results by the number and variety of its special processes. Its world of spirituality is made up of atoms, and each atom is spiritualised in its separate and integral state. It undertakes to do the work of thorough persuasion. It counts nothing done, unless this be done. And to do this, it must come home to men's consciences and hearts one by one—its aggregate triumphs being merely the sum of its triumphs over individual entities.

This we take to be the design of Christianity. In the light of this design we propose hereafter to view the arguments put forward by Churchmen in support of state-establishments of religion. The message of revealed truth is *personal* in its application, *kindly and beneficent* in its tone—*spiritually persuasive* in its intent. The state-church system, and all the reasons adduced for upholding it, may be legitimately tested by a simple resort to this primary idea. It is to this glass that we wish the pious abettors of a compulsory church to bring those considerations which must have greatest influence in shaping their present decision—and we do think, that if they have the honesty and courage to do this, they will discover that in many things their understandings have been imposed upon by wordy propositions, *whose meaning, when they have any, is quite beside the mark.*

CENTRALISATION IN AMERICAN CHURCHES.

(From our own Correspondent.)

I am exceedingly interested in your voluntary movement. But I very much fear you are expecting too much from this country in regard to the "practical working of the voluntary principle." If you wish to know what this principle can and will do in the multiplication of churches and the general supply of the public with the means of religious instruction and improvement, we can show you an array of facts perfectly unanswerable and overwhelming. But if you wish to know what it will and can do to secure the true scriptural equality and independence of the individual ministers and churches, you may just about as well go to the Free Church of Scotland as come here. Presbyterianism, Episcopacy, Wesleyanism, &c., are of course the same here, substantially, as with you. And as to Independency, we have almost none, either among Baptists or Congregationalists. Both of these classes are so wrapped around with the web of associations, consociations, conferences, councils, central committees, close corporations, and conservatively con-

structed and administered voluntary societies, that, to an alarming extent, the spirit and power of real scriptural independency are gone. In a thousand forms the *fellowship* of sister churches and ministers encroaches upon and swallows up their individual independence and equality. The problem of the true mutual adjustment and working of these has but a poor illustration here—that is for you, or some others, to work out.

We have our arrangements for "diminishing the inequalities that obtain between the payments to pastors," if I rightly apprehend what you mean by this; that is, where a church or society is unable to give a minister an adequate support, we have arrangements for supplying the deficiency. But, had I time to show you the "practical working" of them, you would see that they are substantially what the sustentation fund of the Free Church is to be—a mighty central money power, to screw all feeble churches and dependent ministers out of their individual freedom and manhood into a spaniel-subservieny to the opinions, interests, and policy of the central body or committee—Episcopacy, in its entire central power to control, but without its legal and fixed responsibilities and restraints to be called to account and displaced from office. I do hope the friends of scriptural Voluntaryism in Great Britain will be eagle-eyed on this point. Better leave the inequality of ministerial payments to be provided for on the principles of free trade—or rather, as God gives food to sparrows—a thousand times over, even if destitution and suffering, in many cases, do come, than in distrust of God's good providence, resort to expedients that look like trying to turn a stone into bread, and are sure, in the end, to be the price of virtue and freedom, and the enslavement of such as lean upon them. Excuse my earnestness; for I do assure you it is not without reason. Had I time, I could make good my words by facts that cannot be denied. Whatever else you do, then, as defenders of scriptural Voluntaryism, I beg you hold fast, uncompromisingly and absolutely, the individual independence of the ministry and the churches. If a worthy, good minister is not fully sustained by his people, better a thousand times make tents than go up to London or down to Edinburgh, to some practically irresponsible money power, that will be sure to feed him only as the price of subservieny. I have seen this thing on both sides of the Atlantic, and, therefore, I thus speak.

PROGRESS OF THE FREE CHURCH IN THE CANTON DE VAUD.

The third number of the *Avenir*, and private letters, have been received, which show that the Free Church is gaining ground in this Canton. The most important fact which they relate is, that the pastors who resigned, headed by the Central Commission of the church, are signing a confession of faith, in substance the Helvetic confession. It does not appear that as yet either the pastors or the people have pledged themselves to any peculiar views of discipline. And perhaps for the present, and under existing circumstances, they have acted wisely in not attempting to do it. The numerous addresses they have received from Protestant churches in Switzerland, in Germany, in Belgium, in Holland, in France, in this country, and the remarkably clear manner in which many of these have borne testimony to the sole supremacy of Christ over his church, have, along with other causes, produced their legitimate effects on their minds. They seem now to see clearly that nothing is to be hoped for from the Government, and that the only path at once of duty and of safety is to go boldly forward, and seek to establish a Free Church independent of the state, and whose government shall be carried on agreeably to the rule laid down in the Word of God. While, however, these favourable appearances are manifesting themselves on the one hand, persecution and opposition are becoming more decided on the other. In spite of the law passed by the Council of State for the purpose of relaxing the severity of the persecuting edict, the ministers and people who are no longer connected with the Established Church are exposed, and with the manifest connivance of Government, to every species of annoyance and vexation. Their religious meetings are wantonly disturbed by the mob. Complaints are made to the Council of State, but they, instead of punishing the aggressors, only suppress the meetings themselves. "Persecution," says a letter just received from a distinguished member of the Geneva Evangelical Society, "persecution grows more and more fierce; fire-engines, stones, and, of late, even gun-shots, are the weapons used against those who unite for prayer in private houses. Public rumour announces the issuing of a law, sentencing to banishment, or to a considerable fine, every one of the ministers who have given in their resignation, who should presume to preach in his own, or in any other parish."—Abridged from the *Witness*.

THE RECENT ECCLESIASTICAL CONFERENCE AT BERLIN.

The *Edinburgh Witness* throws some light upon the proceedings of this body of which we avail ourselves:—"It is a remarkable fact, and strongly indicative of the state of feeling that exists in many minds in Germany, that soon after the Conference had sat, they received an address, signed by all the pastors in Halle, with a single exception, expressing their earnest desire that all the existing symbolical books should be abolished, and a new symbol, concise, simple, easy to be understood, be substituted in their place.

"In one of the documents drawn up by the originators of the Conference, it is altogether denied that the originators of the Conference had any desire to establish a great central ecclesiastical power in Berlin, to which all the churches of the Reformation in Germany should be subjected. Their great object is represented as being that of bringing the delegates of these churches together, with the view of ultimately securing an agreement on certain great principles, and the adoption of certain measures tending to advance the good of the existing churches, and lead to a unity of doctrine and of government. In the attainment of these ends, it is considered necessary that a confession of faith should be adopted, and the Augsburg one in particular is recommended, as having the advantage that arises from antiquity and association, and as containing the same fundamental truths as the other confessions, especially the two following ones, viz.:—That the Scriptures constitute the sole rule of faith, and that men are justified solely through faith in Christ. The confession being adopted, it is considered that every pastor who signs it ought to be required to preach in accordance with the truths which it contains—that he ought, on no account, to be allowed to subvert the foundations of the faith. . . . At this distance from the sphere of action, and with our imperfect views of the ultimate aims of the German Protestant states, and of the existing state of parties in the German Protestant church, it is difficult to pronounce any very decided opinion on these plans, which seem to have originated mainly with the Kings of Prussia and Wurtemberg." The *Witness* thinks, "that one of the great designs contemplated by the Conference, is that of excluding the Rationalists from the churches and the theological chairs, and of rendering it impossible for them to retain their connexion with a church whose fundamental doctrines, as expressed in their confessions, they are strenuously labouring to subvert. Another object which seems to be aimed at, though it is less prominently brought into view, is that of ultimately introducing a mode of government, in which the power of ruling in the church shall rest, not, as it really does at present, with the kings, and princes, and electors of the several states, but with the office-bearers of the church itself, in which the Presbyterian mode of government shall be introduced, and the churches' autonomy which has so long been lost in Germany, shall be restored."

THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH ASSOCIATION.—Having more than once declared our dissent from the spirit of this Association—not from its principles and objects, and having especially expressed disapprobation of the tone adopted by Mr. Edward Miall, the editor of the *Nonconformist*—we now feel it a satisfaction to avow our entire concurrence in the proceedings of the meeting reported in our sixth page, and our hearty sympathy with every word of Mr. Miall's speech. Let Dissenters act in the manly, Christian, and consistent way that he there recommends, and then they will adorn and advance their principles.—*Leeds Mercury*.

RONGE'S RATIONALISM.—We regret to say, that our worst fears respecting this bold and ardent young man receive daily confirmation. In a letter from a clergyman, dated "Offenbach, Dec. 1," the writer says, speaking of Ronge, "He declared before 1,600 auditors (I heard it myself), that there are many miracles related in the Scripture quite unworthy of God. . . . That to behold in Christ more than man is absurd; and that the deceit of priests alone has attributed to him divinity. The spirit of the nineteenth century, however, must destroy this cheat!" We hope to give the letter at length in our next.—*Continental Echo*.

THE JUDGES AND THE BISHOPS.—The following is a statement of the relative payments of the leading members of the episcopal and the judicial bench:—

Lord Chancellor.....	£10,000	Archbp. of Canterbury	£15,000
Ch. Just. of Queen's Bench	8,000	Archbishop of York	10,000
Ch. Just. of Common Pleas	8,000	Bishop of London	10,000
Chief Baron.....	7,000	Bishop of Durham	8,000
Puisne Judges.....	5,000	Winchester	7,000
		Bishop of Ely	5,500

Again, the highest ecclesiastical functionary in France, the Archbishop of Paris, has £1,600 per annum; the other fourteen archbishops have £600 per annum each; and the bishops, sixty-five in number, have £400 per annum, each. In Belgium the net income of the Archbishop of Malines is £840 per annum, and of each of the bishops £588 per annum.

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND.—Mr. George Richards, minister of the Independent chapel at Alnwick, has addressed a letter to the editor of the *Patriot*, on the subject of a paragraph copied into that paper, in which it was stated that the Duke of Northumberland limits his charities in the parish of St. Martin's, London, to members of the Established church, and that on a recent occasion, when he caused coats and clothing to be distributed to 800 poor families in that parish, it was inquired of applicants whether they belonged to the church or not, and that those who did not were refused. Mr. Richards states, that if this is the case it is in direct opposition to the Duke's conduct at Alnwick, where he subscribed £50 towards the chapel in which Mr. Richards preaches, and where every Dissenting minister in the town receives a note from his chaplain, requesting him to send in a list of persons belonging to his congregation, whom he considers proper objects of his Grace's favours, which are never withheld. He therefore disbelieves the report in question, as most persons will be disposed to do after this statement.

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE.—Drs. Smith and Buchanan, of Glasgow; Candlish and Cunningham, of Edinburgh; with Messrs. J. Hamilton, William Brown, and N. Stevenson, have intimated to Mr. Henderson, of Park, their intention to discontinue, for a time at least, their attendance at the meetings of the Glasgow committee, until the opinion of the ministers and elders of the Free Church, who are to meet in March, is obtained. They, in conjunction with Dr. Chalmers, have, therefore, invited a conference of Free Church ministers and elders to meet at the New College, Edinburgh, on the 3rd of March, to deliberate on the subject.

SIR C. E. SMITH AND THE ANTI-STATE-CHURCH QUESTION.—Sir Culling E. Smith, in the *Patriot* of Monday, offers an explanation of the paragraph in his letter to Dr. Campbell, which appeared to urge the shelving of the anti-state-church question, confessing that it was liable to be misapprehended:—

I ought to have said more distinctly than I did, that, in urging on my fellow Dissenters abstinence from harsh and injurious expressions towards the tenderest and most justifiable predilections of Churchmen, I never for one moment intended to call upon them to abstain from discussing the great question of the proper scriptural relation of the church to the state.

Let me then have the pleasure (for a pleasure it ought always to be to a Christian to give explanations), of frankly admitting, that there was ground in my letter—not only in the above passage, but in other parts—for supposing that I desired Dissenters to suppress their convictions concerning establishments. And let me add, that had such been my intention, such a suggestion would have deserved the severest reprehension. The question of the relation of the civil government to religion, handled in a generous and Christian spirit, is one of the grandest topics to which sanctified mind can be applied. It is one on which I am persuaded that we have all much to learn, and on which we all might learn, if we would only listen more patiently and more respectfully to each other's arguments. Dissenters might perhaps find, that a religious state does not necessarily imply infringement of liberty; and Churchmen, that a church separated from the Government does not necessarily involve national atheism.

I have reason to believe that, with few exceptions, the Committee of the Congregational Union regard the printing of that tract as a circumstance much to be regretted; and I am not without hope, that both the publisher and republisher of that document will be disposed, on calm consideration, to admit, that it was not such a weapon as it became Christian controversialists to wield against their brethren.

ALLEGED PERSECUTION OF POLISH NUNS.—*Le Semeur*, the organ of the Evangelical party in France, denies, in toto, the authenticity of the story of the horrible persecutions said to have been inflicted upon the Basilian nuns at Minsk, with the concurrence of the Emperor Nicholas. The *Semeur* shows the publication to be all falsehood, both warp and woof, from the pretended ukase of Nicholas to the *Te Deums* of the worshipped and mutilated nuns. The showing up in the *Semeur* has been decisive. Some of the Roman Catholic journals are ashamed of the job. The *Reformation au XIX. Siècle*, published at Geneva, says:—"The disgrace of this fraud will recoil on Rome, and will be the greater for the audacity of the falsehood and the publicity it has attained." The *Gazette d'Augsburg* considers the story as too puerile for the Czar to take the trouble to refute it.

CONVERSIONS TO ROME.—Mr. Formby, Rector of Ruardean, in Herefordshire, and his assistant, Mr. George Burder are among the latest converts to Romanism; and Mr. T. E. Morris, a tutor of Christ Church, whose brother has already gone over to Romanism, has been called upon to resign his tutorship on account of his Romanising opinions. Meantime, while one section of the Tractarians are moving off to a more consistent position, others are snugly entrenching themselves in the high places of the establishment.

A SINGULAR DISCOVERY has been made in these days, at no great distance from our city (Berlin). In the little town of Dobrilugk (formerly belonging to Saxony, but now included in the Potsdam circle) a boy has been found, of whose birth, parentage, or existence, hitherto no account could be obtained by the civic authorities. He is described as barking with the dogs and crowing with the cocks, but unable to pronounce any other human sound but the words "father and mother" (proving at least that he must have been, and that recently too, in connexion with real or pretended parents), and of so violent and uncontrolled a temper, that the most trifling contradiction of his will puts him in a state of fury alarming to all within his reach!—*Times' correspondent*.

"HUBBLE BUBBLE, TOIL AND TROUBLE."—Meetings, solemnly ludicrous, are now being held, in London and elsewhere, of unhappy gamblers in railway shares, whose golden dreams have been dissipated, and who find themselves defrauded of their money and their hopes. No longer do their pet "provisionals" utter diamonds, and emeralds, and rubies, when they open their mouths, but toads, and serpents, and scorpions. The directors of the "Great North and South Wales," who were living, in autumn last, on "turtle and other dainties, with an abundance of the choicest wines that could be procured," are now reviled by their quondam worshippers, to whom the engineers, solicitors, &c., have sent in bills for £15,000! The shareholders in the "Metropolitan Junction" met last week, and received a report from a committee, exposing the peccadilloes of the "provisionals." The promoters and solicitors, it seems, were pledged, in September last, not to look for payment from the provisional committee, but only from the deposits; and 10,000 shares were allotted to the promoters of the scheme, for their trouble and ingenuity in blowing the bubble! But although a large portion of the money of the shareholders was expended in buying shares and allotments in the market, to puff the project up to a premium, the trick failed, and not one of the 10,000 shares was taken up, or a deposit paid thereon!—*Gateshead Observer*.

We understand that Mr. Tufnell, one of the Assistant Poor Law Commissioners, has resigned his office, from dissatisfaction at the conduct of the Commissioners.—*Globe*.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

CHATHAM.—PROVIDENCE CHAPEL, BROOK.—On Tuesday, the 10th instant, there was held the annual tea-meeting of the above place of worship. J. Ackworth, Esq., the chairman, presented, in the name of the church assembling there, to their beloved pastor, Mr. A. Jones, an admirable portrait of himself in oil (taken by Mr. T. Forster), with a richly ornamented frame. Addresses were delivered by various ministers on the occasion.

NEW CHAPEL, ST. NEOT'S.—In consequence of the increase of Dissent in the neighbourhood of St. Neot's, it has long been considered necessary, either to enlarge the present Independent chapel, or to erect another in one of the populous villages adjoining. A gentleman of great liberality has purchased a piece of ground near Eynesbury-bridge, and is about erecting a small but elegant edifice, on the horse-shoe plan, and intends to support entirely (for a time at least) a laborious and efficient home missionary.

ROMSEY, HAMPSHIRE.—Mr. John Reynolds has resigned his pastoral charge over the church and congregation assembling in the Abbey chapel in this town.

NEW INDEPENDENT MEETING-HOUSE, MOUNTMELTICK, IRELAND.—This place of worship was opened on Sabbath, 8th instant, in connexion with the Congregational Union of Ireland, by Mr. S. M. Coombs, one of the Society's agents.

NEW INDEPENDENT CHAPEL, AT NETHER YEADON.—Magnificent subscriptions are making for the erection of an Independent chapel, school, and minister's residence, contiguous to the populous clothing village of Yeadon, where there has hitherto been a deplorable want of religious instruction. Amongst the principal subscribers to this fund we find Robert Milligan, Esq., who has given the land for the site of the chapel and burial ground, and enclosed the same by a handsome and substantial stone wall; and Henry Forbes, Esq., who has presented a donation of £500 towards this laudable object.—*Bradford Observer*.

WELLINGBOROUGH.—Mr. Thomas Thomas, student of Homerton College, has accepted of a unanimous invitation from the church and congregation of Salem chapel, Wellingborough; and enters upon his ministerial labours there the second Sunday in March.

HUNTINGDON UNION CHAPEL.—Mr. W. W. Wright having resigned the pastoral office, which he has sustained with usefulness and honour for more than twenty years, the church have cordially and unanimously invited his colleague, Mr. J. H. Millard, B.A., late of Stepney College, London University, and son of Mr. James Millard, of Lymington, minister, to assume the sole pastorate; he accordingly entered on his labours on Lord's-day, January 25, with cheering prospects of success.

Mr. Adam Smith, late of Quorndon, Leicestershire, has accepted the office of pastor to the Baptist church, Vine-street, Leicester, at the unanimous desire of the members, and enters upon the duties immediately.

HALSTEAD.—Mr. Henry Robert Reynolds, B.A., of Coward College, Scholar of the University of London, has received and accepted a cordial and unanimous invitation from the church of Christ, assembling in the Old Meeting, Halstead, Essex, late under the care of Mr. Ebenezer Prout, to become its pastor; and commenced his labours on Sabbath last.

LLANELLY.—On Wednesday, the 28th ult., and on Sunday, the 1st inst., interesting services were held at Llanelly, Carmarthenshire, in connexion with the re-opening of the English Independent chapel. On the morning of Wednesday, the service was opened by Mr. William Jones, of Swansea; and Mr. Henry Griffiths, President of Brecon College, preached an admirable sermon. In the evening, Mr. J. G. Avery (Wesleyan) read the Scriptures and prayed, and Mr. Eliezer Jones, of Plymouth, preached. Also on the following Sunday, the church and congregation enjoyed the valuable services of Mr. Eliezer Jones, both morning and evening. The chapel is neat and commodious; the expense of enlargement amounts to upwards of £260, and the list of donations and collections to £200. There is also the sum of £100 remaining on the old building, giving an opportunity to any person to exercise liberality in aid of an important English interest in the principality.

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE IN LIVERPOOL.—Welsh meetings to explain and defend the objects of the Alliance were held in Liverpool, on Wednesday evening, the 4th instant. Concert-hall and Commercial-hall were filled to excess. The audience in both halls amounted nearly to four thousand. One English clergyman (Mr. W. W. Ewbank) was present at Concert-hall. Most of the speeches delivered are reported in the "*Amseran*," the newspaper to which we referred in a former notice of the Alliance in Wales. The desirableness of union was explained at great length by the different speakers, and they all seemed to concur in commending the Alliance to the cordial reception of their Welsh brethren. Some defended the eight articles intended as the Alliance's fundamental principles, whilst others pointed out the necessity of joining its ranks, in order to make a determined stand against the advances of Popery.

MURDER AND SUICIDE.—In Arbcure-square, Commercial-road, on Thursday morning, Jeremiah Spence Stark, a young married man, cut his wife's throat, and then his own, and both died in a few minutes. The wife, though married about a twelvemonth, was not yet sixteen years of age; the husband was twenty-three. It appeared at the inquest, that he had acted unkindly towards his helpmate for some months; he was subject to determination of blood to the head, and he frequently drank to excess. The Coroner remarked, that the man had evidently been deranged, and the jury returned a verdict in accordance with that view.

THE MINISTRY AND THEIR LATE ORGANS.—After some hesitation, the *Morning Herald* and the *Standard* have become decided opponents of the Ministry, and as close sticklers for protection as their rival the *Post*.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE EVANGELICAL ALLIANCE IN WALES.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Permit me to say a few words in reference to the letter of "The Editor of the Welsh Newspaper," in the last *Nonconformist*. I am glad that my notice of the intended proceedings of the Alliance in Wales has elicited from him such a declaration—a declaration in every way worthy of a Welsh Dissenter, and which will not fail to confirm your readers in the opinion expressed of him and his paper by the writer of the "Welsh Sketches." His testimony as to the state of feeling in regard to the anti-state-church question, is far more important than that of all other Welsh editors, if put together. Being a "host" in himself, and his paper being supported by the intelligent and liberal of every denomination, he possesses means of observation surpassing those of any individual in the principality. I trust, therefore, that the advocacy of this great question of the age will not be laid aside, whilst he continues to sit in the editorial chair of "the Times."

My excellent friend hints, that the Alliance, in Wales, will be an alliance of Nonconformists. This may be true, in a great measure, as it regards North Wales; but, in the south, there are many evangelical clergymen, who act more Dissenter-like, and are less afraid of Dissenters, than their brethren in the north. And my friend very well understands that, if Welsh clergymen would stand aloof from the movement, that the Alliance will be, after all, essentially the same in Wales as in England. I presume there will be no separate Alliance for Wales. It is, therefore, fair to suppose, that the Welsh members of the Alliance would be expected to pursue the same line of conduct as our friends in England. We must remember that the Alliance is powerless as yet, but if its leaders in its present infant state are so anxious to show fight to all concerned in the anti-state-church movement, as indicated by the letters of Sir Culling E. Smith, the *Record*, and *Watchman*, what will be the result when it becomes a mighty nation? If silence on this question is not enjoined, is it not expected? I have read many speeches delivered at the meetings of the Alliance, and have not found one of them bold enough to speak out on the subject. It is a notorious fact, that the leaders of the Alliance are not the most prominent advocates of the separation of church and state. I merely mention these things lest it may be supposed that the Alliance in Wales will not be exposed to the same dangers as in England. My friend is also aware, that the *Review* which he mentions is supported by the Liberal section of the Welsh Methodists. It may be said, that the editors are very influential. So they are; but the official organ of the denomination is not quite so liberal. Perhaps he remembers the harsh terms in which even the *Dysgedydd* denounces one of its correspondents for venturing to recommend the *Eclectic* in preference to the *British Quarterly*, on account of the anti-state-church character of the former. I trust that I have said enough to convince my friend, that it would be wise in us not to commit ourselves to a blind adherence to the Alliance, before its objects are well defined, and its laws definitely settled. Let him distinctly inform his readers, that the aggressive movement in regard to state-churches, is not to be abandoned; for, after the space devoted to the Alliance in his last paper, he will surely remember the Anti-state-church Association in the next. I am, sir,

YOUR CORRESPONDENT.

JUVENILE DESTITUTION AND CRIME.—On Saturday a meeting of noblemen and gentlemen took place at the Mansion-house, for the purpose of taking into consideration measures for the reformation of juvenile offenders, and for checking the growth of crime. The Lord Mayor in the chair. At the request of the meeting, Mr. Pearson read a statement, showing the increase of juvenile depravity. The last year's return as to crime exhibited a marked decrease; but the decrease was confined entirely to adult offenders. It suggested, therefore, that whenever a child was apprehended for a crime, it should be consigned to an asylum for the county—an immense building, to admit of a variety of classifications. Here the child must remain to be reformed—or volunteer to become a free emigrant to the colonies—to be apprenticed, or to be enlisted in the army or navy. It further proposed, for the maintenance of the child, that the sum of 2s. or 3s. a week should be enforced upon the parents; and if they were absolutely incapable of paying that, then the maintenance should be defrayed by the parish. As to the buildings, they should be erected at the expense of the state. The Bishop of London stated, that he most cordially thanked Mr. Pearson for the statement of his views, in the general principles of which he concurred. He had been labouring for years, to devise measures to accomplish the object proposed by Mr. Pearson's plan, but he confessed he had never seen any principle developed which so entirely coincided with his views upon the subject [cheers].—M. D. Hill, Esq., (recorder of Birmingham) expressed his general approval of the scheme; but he did not believe there had been an actual increase in crime. Numbers might increase, indeed, but the depravity and intensity of crime were decreased. The only objection that could be raised against Mr. Pearson's scheme would be a financial one, but that was rather in appearance than reality; for, large as might be the sum supposed to be requisite to carry the plan into execution, it must be remembered, that a larger sum was now expended by the state in maintaining the classes for whom that plan proposed to provide. Lord Robert Grosvenor, Mr. Alderman Challis, Mr. Russell, (inspector of prisons), Mr. David Wire, and other gentlemen, addressed the meeting in favour of the scheme, and a committee to forward it was then elected, Sheriffs Chaplin and Laurie, Lord Robert Grosvenor, Lord Dudley Stuart, the Lord Mayor, Mr. Bond Cabell, and several of the aldermen and common councillors being of the number. The Lord Mayor invited the committee to sit at the Mansion-house.

It is now stated, that Sir James Graham intends to bring forward his Medical Bill again, after Easter, with two or three of the most unpopular clauses altered.

A COURT OF COMMON COUNCIL was held on Thursday. The principal business came before it in the shape of some resolutions moved by Mr. Wire; of which the pith is conveyed:—"That this court do present petitions to both Houses of Parliament, praying for the total and immediate repeal of the corn-laws." After a long discussion, the resolutions, and a petition to Parliament, founded upon them, were adopted.

THE MIRROR OF PARLIAMENT.

THE CORN-LAW DEBATE.

The debate on the commercial policy of Government was resumed on Thursday evening by

Mr. COLQUHOUN, who, although he was in favour of a fixed duty, and had voted for Mr. Villier's motion for going into committee on the subject, he did not think that Sir Robert Peel had acted constitutionally in surrendering the principles of which he had been the recognised champion, and adopting those of his political antagonists; and his vote, therefore, on the measures of the Government would be, not so much on commercial grounds, as an expression of want of political confidence. Sir James Graham had disposed easily of his difficulties when reminded of his previous tenets. He said, "I have changed my opinion, and there is an end of it." But there was not an end of it [cheers from the Protectionists]. It was not because a gentleman who spoke both like an orator and a poet had changed his opinions that all the world changed with him. His right honourable friend's words would not pass away. They were winged shafts, which pierced men's minds and remained there. His right honourable friend must remember, that the words which he had used adhered in men's memories, had moulded men's sentiments, and altered men's views. Mr. Colquhoun gave a challenge to Messrs. Cobden and Bright. He had heard that these gentlemen would like to go down to Buckinghamshire, and show us how, after the repeal of the Corn-laws, they could manage a farm on strict Free-trade principles. He wished they would put the plan into execution:—

He (Mr. Colquhoun) would engage that some of his hon. friends connected with Buckinghamshire should give them one of the best farms in that country [laughter] on a lease [hear, hear], a lease that should be as long as they pleased,—as long as they were in Scotland—or for nineteen years, at the lowest rent and most moderate charge, just on one condition, that they should show their ledgers at the end of every year; then, if there was a power of terminating the lease at the end of seven years, he strongly suspected the hon. gentlemen would avail themselves of it [hear, hear]. He believed the hon. member for Stockport would then be inclined to adopt the quotation made by the noble lord the member for South Lancashire (Lord F. Egerton), on a former evening, and give it a free translation, which, in this case, would be perfectly just:—

"Claudite jam rivos, pueri; sat prata biberunt;"

this, according to the hon. gentleman's translation, would mean, "Close your purses, men of Manchester, for the fields of Buckingham have drained them sufficiently [great laughter]."

Mr. C. WYNN described the commercial policy of this country, before the time of Mr. Pitt, as a continual intermeddling with trifles. He would have been better pleased had the measures now submitted gone further; but this was erring on the safe side, and he was willing to give them a fair trial.

Mr. GILBERT HEATHCOTE (the Whig member for Rutlandshire) characterised the new policy as rash, violent, and hazardous. The adjustment of interests was not equitable. Protection was to be wholly withdrawn from agriculture, but the manufacturer was to enjoy a protection of ten per cent. This was compelling the agriculturists to sell their corn at Free-trade prices, and buy their goods at prices enhanced by taxation and protection. He denounced the "compensation" Sir Robert Peel had offered to the landed interest as "a farce":—

A more miserable mockery had never been brought before the House. When stripped of its pretence what was it? Why, it was this, that the Government will lend money for improvements in land to whomsoever can give good security. His own opinion was, that no one who could give good security would ever find any difficulty, without going to the Government, of getting money if he wanted it [laughter]. Into the other portions of the so-called compensations he would not go, because he would not be able to do so with seriousness, or if seriously, without indignation at the paltry evasion of which they gave evidence. The experiment he had called great; it was also dangerous.

The present measure had inspired the country with strong feelings of alarm, anxiety, distrust, an utter want of confidence in public men, and a total alienation of regard for Ministers: and this they would find to be the case when next on the hustings. He did not think that foreign countries would relax their tariffs to meet English views; and he foretold, that the corn which would overwhelm our native agriculturists would come in from the North of Europe.

Mr. WYKEHAM MARTIN did not anticipate any great reduction in the price of corn from foreign importations. The case of the Channel Islands afforded better data than quotations of prices on the continent at periods when there was no demand from this country: in the Channel Islands, the trade was perfectly free, and still the average price of wheat was not less than 50s.

Mr. THOMAS BARING, who contested London on the principle of "free-trade in the abstract," against "free-trade in practice," was true to his former reputation. Trying to steer his way between rock and whirlpool, he at last came to the conclusion, that the time was now come—only now come—for compromise. He implored the House to adopt a middle course, and accept a fixed duty. This proposition excited much merriment.

Lord MORPETH supported the motion at considerable length. Mr. Baring had just told the House that the greatest want experienced during the autumn was the want of a ministry; that species of scarcity must have been specially felt by the agricultural party, which boasted of being backed by the voice of the country—of contesting successfully every vacant seat—almost every vacant seat; and still they seemed to be lamentably without leaders and without a head. Mr. Baring had spoken of a compromise; but the feeling of the country and of the House appeared to be, that the time for compromise had gone by. A compromise had been offered by the leaders of the Liberal party; but it was rejected by those who had hailed Mr. Baring, upon the present occasion, as an auxiliary. He adverted to the altered circumstances of the time when his own rejection and re-election took place; and from this he deduced the

conclusive signification, that the great constituency of the West Riding were almost unanimously in favour of repeal. He next argued, that Sir Robert Peel's scheme would touch other interests than that of agriculture, and the representatives of those interests in the West Riding had signified their unanimous approbation of the proposed change. Lord Morpeth proceeded to contend, that wages and employment diminish in years of scarcity. It was obvious, that in dear years the active demand of the working classes must be diminished; not only must they buy less, which would tell upon the landowner and the farmer, but they must also eat less, which would tell upon themselves. To the agricultural labourer the effect of high prices was disastrous; he actually spent seventy-three per cent. of his earnings on food, and twenty-seven per cent. was all which remained to clothe and educate his children, and pay rent. Lord Morpeth put it to the House whether the increase of 2s. 6d. a week upon the cost of flour did not strip the labourer of the command of other necessities and luxuries of life, and of the means of bettering his condition, and giving his children education:—

I have sometimes thought, that the whole logic of this question is so compendious in its form, and so self-evident in its bearings, that it has only to be stated, and that a simple syllogism might do the work of both: thus—there is not more than a sufficient quantity of food grown in this country for our present supply (I think he will be a hardy man who denies that); there is an addition, it is computed, of 1,000 children a day, or 365,000 a year, to our present population; I make bold to assert that there is not, year by year, an addition of 365,000 quarters of wheat to our native-grown produce; then does it not result, that it is most important to procure an additional supply from abroad, and that this ought to be obtained at the cheapest rate possible?

The Government had been told, that it was wrong to apply a permanent remedy to a temporary evil: his reply was, that the evil and the mischief which had arisen might arise every year; and was the country to be continually mocked with this delusion of sliding scales that did not slide, and of restrictive laws, that, according to the course of the season, required to be constantly modified or repealed? It was no reproach to Sir Robert Peel, that he had been influenced in his course by the state of the seasons:—

I can see no disparagement of free-trade—it is rather a confirmation of the truth and justice of the principles on which it rests—that it does follow the laws of nature, and bends to the rules that guide the seasons in their course. You might justly apply, without exaggeration, to free-trade those striking lines that the poet applied to the Roman Emperor who was befriended in the battle-field by the tempest:—

"Tibi mittat ab antris
Æolus iratus hyemes; tibi militet æther,
Et conjurati veniant ad proelia venti."

It was no discouragement to free-trade, but rather a confirmation of all that was just in it, that the stars in their courses did not set against it, but in its favour. The seasons, too, exercised a compensating influence: if in the wet countries of Europe the produce was affected so as to raise the price of corn, and while bread was dear in London, it would be compensated for by seasons of an opposite character in other portions of the world, perhaps on the North American continent. This topic Lord Morpeth illustrated by his own experience when travelling in the United States. Incidentally, he touched upon the social and political impressions which he had derived from his visit:—

Much that I witnessed there, much that I heard there, and more that has reached me since, has certainly not tended to give me a very favourable impression of the orderly working, of the pacific and moderate tendency, of the scrupulous adherence to good faith, to be derived from a constitution of pure and unchecked democracy: and I did not return home with any increased repugnance [loud cheers from the Opposition benches], I mean to say [laughter], any diminished attachment to the aristocratical and monarchical element in our own constitution. But both then and since, there and here, I have felt the perfect conviction, that we could not confront the example of general ease, comfort, and abundance, which pervades the whole bulk of the American people.

He concluded with a powerful warning and appeal to the aristocracy:—

We cannot confront the sympathies, feelings, determinations of the age in which we live, if we do not work out the aristocratic institutions by which we are surrounded, and which have gradually sprung up around us, in a more democratic spirit than we have shown a disposition to do. I contend that there is no aristocracy resting on exclusive principles, which our own does not [hear, hear], that could be maintained or tolerated for an instant [hear]. Such an aristocracy, placed in a community such as ours fortunately is, could not escape a certain and a speedy downfall [hear]. And not even an aristocracy so old and so dignified as that of Great Britain, could sustain itself when concession comes to be prohibitory. That would be an effort which the oldest title-deeds would fail to make. I do not by this mean to say, that the advocates for protection seek purely and solely to promote their own personal interests individually. Still they are the interests and the associations, not of individuals, but of a class, which they have been in the habit of keeping planted in their minds and view. There is in them the strength and sympathy of feeling which belongs to what is termed *esprit de corps*; there is even a refined degree of selfishness, which almost mistakes itself for martyrdom. Under these circumstances, monopoly itself, as it nears its downfall, though it does not seem entitled to any sympathy for self-sacrifice, will be invested with something of the graces of self-martyrdom. We are even prone to feel sympathy with the convict when he is pursued and when he stands at bay [hear, hear, hear]. But I cannot permit the general interests of the community, or the whole of the state, to indulge in practice, at least, in sympathies of so morbid a description. It is the part of a true politician, of a sound philosopher, to put the universal above the particular, to rise above the interests of a class, and not weigh them against those of a people; and, therefore, I would conjure those who belong to the real aristocracy of the country—who are so by hereditary association or by landed property—to rise above the consideration of their own especial interest, and to open their eyes to the consideration of this great question [hear, hear]. I grudge to their side, I grudge to them the adhesion of those who bear such names as the Marquis of Granby and Lord Clive [laughter], for I feel that our aristocracy has marched with the general progress, and identified itself with the struggles of the country. Well, then, let them not refuse to bear their part in an adjustment which, if not adjusted with them,

must be adjusted in spite of them [loud cheers]. They bear a part, I allow, a distinguished and a prominent part, in our social system; but that system comprises, besides themselves, the irrepressible energies of trade and industry, the order and determination of our middle classes, the hard working perseverance of the immense masses of our working classes, the most powerful agencies of a talented and enlightened press, and all the great stir and progress of a generally advancing age. Let them, then, throw all their energies into the cause; let them make it as much their pride, as it is their station, to be the leaders, and not the laggards, in the onward march of the British people [immense cheering].

Mr. MILNES GASKELL, (Mr. Wynn's son-in-law, who flung up his lordship of the Treasury in horror at the propositions of the Government), said that for fourteen years it had been his pride to follow Sir Robert Peel both in opposition and in power. He was proud of the connexion, and was prepared to make any sacrifice consistent with personal honour to support it; but, looking at his implied engagement and recorded votes, he could not go along with him. In spite of the speeches he had heard, Mr. Gaskell had still to learn, that new circumstances had arisen sufficiently pressing to justify a Parliament, elected to maintain agriculture, in departing totally from its principles. And, on this subject, he must be forgiven if he said, that the arguments he had heard advanced in former times by the right honourable baronet and others, had left an impression on his mind much too deep to be outweighed by the arguments which had lately been brought forward. He, for one, could not dispose of arguments and speeches, which carried conviction to his mind, in one single sentence.

Mr. ROEBUCK said, he could approach the question without reference to personal or party interests:—

He had nothing to retract, nothing to explain or justify, but much to assail. A singular spectacle had recently been observed on the other side of the House—members abandoning their seats in deference to some implied understanding with their constituents. He should like to know what was the meaning of not being a "delegate," if it was not that during the time for which Parliament was by law established each member must be guided by his own personal convictions? In his own person he was the representative of a large constituency [laughter], who had on several occasions been displeased by the votes he had given; but had he, owing to the "pressure from without," yielded up his seat, an instant cry would have been raised on the opposite side that he was no longer a representative but a "delegate." In some cases, however, resignations had taken place, not so much at the command of those usually styled constituents, as from deference to the proprietors of certain close boroughs. [Mr. Roebuck was asked repeatedly to "Name!" but he advised the parties not to insist upon particulars, as he was perfectly prepared to state them, though he then abstained.] Such proceedings marked a sore place in the constitution.

As to the conversions, he did not doubt the statements which had been made by Sir Robert Peel, Sir James Graham, and Lord John Russell; but he thought it strange, that the transformation should not have occurred till the end of the year 1845. While, therefore, he discarded every imputation upon their honour, he could not but consider their proceedings an extraordinary satire upon their understandings. Allusions had been made to the breaking up of a great party as a consequence of the new movement: this was a matter to which Mr. Roebuck attached no importance—the question for him was, what were the exigencies of his country? Passing from the position and pleas of parties, Mr. Roebuck entered upon the question of agricultural protection generally; showing with much clearness, that its intention and tendency were to make food scarcer and dearer, and thereby to raise rents.

Mr. HODGSON HINDE expressed himself unfavourable to the proposals of Government, and signified his intention to vote for the amendment.

The discussion was again adjourned.

On Friday evening the debate was resumed by Sir HOWARD DOUGLAS (member for Liverpool), who contended, that the withdrawal of protection was not merely a perilous experiment for our agriculture, but hazardous for our manufactures, by exposing the home market to ruin from competition, while it also incurred the risk of destroying our colonial markets, by extinguishing the colonial system.

Lord VILLIERS was of opinion, that the results of experience had demonstrated the fallacy of protective principles, and he was, therefore, prepared to support the propositions of the Government, as being conducive to the general welfare of the empire.

Mr. F. SCOTT (Roxburgh) described the stunning effect produced on his mind by the sudden desertion of all his former principles and pledges by Sir R. Peel, and the pain and reluctance with which he now came forward to give the most decided opposition to his new commercial plans. The hon. gentleman then amused the House by reading a curious series of contradictions which he had detected in the speeches of Sir R. Peel, Sir J. Graham, and Mr. S. Herbert, delivered between the 26th of January and the 9th of February, 1846. Those contradictions were proofs of the difficulties in which great men were plunged when they abandoned principle, and entered upon a crooked and devious course of policy. Mr. Scott likened Sir Robert Peel to counsel who had thrown up his brief and gone over to the other side. [While Mr. Scott was in full swing with his pleading, Sir Robert Peel, in an under tone, said, "For whom are you counsel?" Mr. Scott seemed struck dumb—he sat down—he rose—and then he burst forth into an angry denial that he was a "retained advocate;" an imputation which Sir R. Peel disclaimed.] The hon. gentleman, after apologising for the warmth into which he had been betrayed, delivered a long invective against free-trade, which he described as sense in the abstract and nonsense in the reality, and as a fantastic cobweb sparkling like a dew-drop in the sun. He concluded with a long and declamatory philippic against her Majesty's Ministers, who, with free-trade on their lips but not in their hearts, were now venturing upon a grinding, bone-crushing experiment, which would consign not only all the agricultural labourers, but all the other industrious artisans of the kingdom also, to one unsparing and indiscriminating ruin.

Mr. WARD contended, that one-half of the speech of Mr. Scott contradicted the other, and was more remarkable for its inconsistencies than any of the speeches

on which he had commented so angrily. After the ingenious comparison which Mr. F. Scott had made between Sir R. Peel and a counsel who had thrown up his original brief for that of his former adversary, he must say, that he had no right to be indignant when Sir R. Peel, glancing at his many contradictions, asked him, not unfairly, for what party he was retained. He denied that either Mr. Scott or any of his party were entitled to denounce the present measure of the Government, the inevitable consequence of its previous operations, which were one and all approved by the united party opposite, as an act of treachery either to them or to their principles. The country rejected such denunciations with scorn; and, as a proof of his assertion, he referred to Mr. Ferrand's ineffectual attempt to rouse the operatives of the West Riding of Yorkshire against the commercial policy now proposed, and to the refusal of the leading Tories of that district to be dragged to the hustings in opposition to the free-trade candidate, Lord Morpeth. He summarily disposed of the assertion, that the agriculturists could not compete with foreigners, because they were so heavily taxed:—

This was a question which ought to be approached with peculiar delicacy by hon. gentlemen opposite [cheers]. For six years this had been constantly put forward as the reason for refusing a change; and he was now delighted to find, by the votes of another House, that a noble lord had taken up the subject, and had adopted almost the exact words of his own motion. A corresponding notice he had given in that House, and for three years successively he had endeavoured to procure an inquiry [cheers]. If the agricultural interests had any peculiar burdens they ought to be ashamed if they could not prove them; for three years he had given them the opportunity, which they had declined. He had begged them to nominate their own committee, he had told them that they might even have the hon. and gallant member for Lincoln (Colonel Sibthorp) as their chairman, if they so pleased [laughter]; and that they might examine his witnesses, or he would examine theirs, so that they should arrive at a fair conclusion; but they had declined, and he believed that they had no case which they could prove before twelve intelligent men. They would have nothing to do with it.

In spite of all the eloquence of Mr. S. O'Brien, he must contend, that this measure would not prove the destruction either of the tenant-farmers or of their landlords. He should support it as a measure framed for the salvation of the agricultural interest:—

He would give to those propositions his most cordial support as the salvation of the agricultural interest, because he believed the worst thing that could be done would be to leave them to themselves; nothing could be more fatal than any attempt on their part to go on without leading strings. They never had known, they did not now know, their own interests; they had made the strangest mistakes whenever they had been enabled, by courtesy or circumstances, to try their hand in the statute-book.

In conclusion, he expressed a hope that the majority in its favour in that House would be so large as to insure for it a favourable reception whenever it was sent up to another place.

Mr. MILES observed, that he was glad that this question was presented to the House in such a shape that there could be no mistake respecting it. Protection must be defended as applicable to every class of the community, or must, if withdrawn from one class, be withdrawn from every other. Last night Mr. Baring had talked of the expediency of a compromise. He never had been, he never should be, for such an arrangement:—

He thought they must either stand precisely as they did now, or must adopt the measure proposed by the right hon. baronet, or the hon. gentleman opposite [hear, hear].

He could not understand the principles on which that proposition rested, nor could he see why the policy which had been pursued for more than two centuries, and which had raised this country to greatness, should be set aside on no other ground than the experience of the last three years. The apprehension of impending famine had been alleged as a reason for this innovation; but he was rejoiced to have it in his power to dissipate all fears of a coming scarcity, on the authority of returns made to the Central Agricultural Association from its provincial branches in twenty-six counties, if not more, of England and Wales. There was a sufficient stock of wheat in England for the consumption of its inhabitants, and the price of potatoes was at present falling in the London and country markets—a certain proof that the supply of them was not deficient. He then proceeded to reply to the statements made by Sir Robert Peel in his speech on the address at the commencement of the session, and also in his speech in proposing his present commercial code, and to controvert the returns which he had quoted respecting the consumption and price of flax, wool, meat, lard, and various other articles for the three years before and after the passing of the tariff of 1842. Even supposing the returns of Sir Robert Peel, and the conclusions derived from them to be correct, were they sufficient to justify him in throwing overboard all the industrial energies of the country, and in leaving them to compete by themselves under our heavy taxation with the untaxed energies of Germany and the United States? After contending at great length for the negative of that proposition, and after reading a large quantity of statistical information in support of his arguments, he proceeded to show, that it was the interest of the country to foster its home trade in preference to its foreign; whereas Sir R. Peel was upholding the foreign trade at the expense of the immense mass of capital thrown into the home market by the great consumers and little savers of the country. Here Mr. Miles entangled himself in a dangerous statistical trap. He wanted to show, that the dread of inundation by foreign corn was not groundless; and he foretold "exhaustless" supplies from the valley of the Mississippi, Prussia, and—*Tamboff!* The sound of that word, immortalised by Lord Stanley, raised shouts of laughter. Mr. Miles said, that he did not wish to exaggerate: he would not say (as Lord Stanley did) that *Tamboff* could supply 36,000,000 quarters of corn, but Mr. McGregor, estimates the supply at 12,000,000 bushels. The province contains twenty-five millions of square miles—[roars of laughter]—"Oh! I see—I should have said twenty-five thousand square miles instead of millions." He concluded a denunciation of great length and violence against the pro-

posed measure by a declaration of his fears, that the time would soon arrive when the people of these islands would curse the day when first their Government was entrusted to a cautious and temporising free-trade Minister.

Lord NORTHLAND rose, and speaking to the question of adjournment, said, that though his principles were unchanged, he should vote for the measure of the Government. He foresaw that this question must be settled; and, as that was the case, he would rather have it settled by Sir Robert Peel, in whom he had confidence, than by Lord John Russell, in whom he had none.

Mr. FERRAND here exclaimed:—

I should just like to ask the noble lord what confidence he had in the right honourable baronet when he (Lord Northland) was dragged out of 'the Coal-hole' to vote for him on a late occasion? [Roars of laughter.]

Lord NORTHLAND rose amid a tumult of laughter, but sat down again without uttering a word.

Colonel T. WOOD, jun., expressed his intention of supporting the bill, as he considered it necessary to the commercial and manufacturing prosperity of the country that this question should be settled. He regretted the opposition which, acting upon party motives, he had given on a former occasion to the free-trade measures of Lord J. Russell.

The debate was then again adjourned till Monday.

On Monday night, the Earl of MARCH re-opened the debate with a speech, in every respect worthy of his father (the Duke of Richmond).

Mr. MILNER GIBSON followed: he endeavoured to disabuse the agriculturalists of the apprehensions entertained of a repeal of the corn-laws, and mentioned the following fact in support of his views:—

Within a very recent period a friend of his had communicated with sixty-three tenants in Suffolk who, since the rumours became rife of an intention on the part of Government to propose the abolition of the corn-laws, had agreed to renew their leases for long periods. Not one of the sixty-three asked for a reduction of rent; twenty of them stated, that the farmers had discussed the matter among themselves, and decided that it was not a case in which they should call for any reduction.

He feared one cause of the hostility of the landed interest to free-trade, was their jealousy of the advance of the mercantile and trading. They did not like to surrender any of their unjustly-retained influence:—

Had it not been their system to make the possession of land the test of fitness for the administration of the national affairs—the test of fitness for admission into the other house; for, though he admitted that gentlemen who had acquired great wealth and power by commercial pursuits had been raised to the peerage, still they were not admitted to the upper legislative assembly until the possession of landed estate had rendered them, in the estimation of the privileged classes, fit to be trusted. Was it not laid down, even on the passing of the Reform Bill, that one of the objects of the measure, so far as the distribution of the representation was concerned, was to give a predominant influence to the possessors of land? [Lord John Russell was understood to say, "No."] The landed gentry monopolised the principal offices and emoluments of society. Their leaders had boasted that they could make and unmake ministries. The body to which he referred had aptly been called a territorial aristocracy. Apart from the corn-law, there was a system giving advantages to the possessors of land; and since that class would not suffer from the abolition of the corn-law, owing to the land and the competition being limited, the circumstances to which he had alluded gave some countenance to the charge, that the Protectionists had a personal and pecuniary interest in maintaining the corn-law, for the advancement of their own political power.

He urged immediate repeal:—

The laws were to be totally abolished; but why not immediately? The arguments for their abolition at the end of three years were equally strong as applied to the present time. Either the existing emergency was not an argument for doing something at the end of three years, or it was an argument for immediately opening the ports. The right hon. gentleman, the Secretary for War, indeed, had told the House that he thought it would have been a proper course to have opened the ports some two months ago. The interests of the country, the interests of the agriculturists, required immediate repeal; and hon. gentlemen, he was satisfied, would not feel themselves at liberty to forego the opportunity of taking the opinion of the House on that point. The corn-law question had found its way into that House in the teeth of an adverse majority. No individual member could endanger the proposed bill by the course he might take. The measure was not carried by that Parliament. It was carried by the voice of the country if carried at all; and unless it rested on that substantial basis, it would fail [cheers]. There was no better barometer of public opinion than the right hon. gentleman [laughter].

Mr. HALSEY indulged in a long and somewhat violent attack on the Ministerial measure—a measure which supported free-trade, and yet did not carry it out—which repudiated Protection, and yet left it in force.

Mr. DICKINSON, member for Somersetshire, considered that the proposal now made by the Government was just and right, and therefore he should support it. However the members of the Central Agricultural Association might complain of the proceedings of the Anti-corn-law League, it was undeniable that they themselves acted on the very same principles. Else what was meant by their interference in elections, and their dictation of pledges to county members? He should consider it as an improvement to the Government plan, if its operation were made immediate.

Lord ALFRED CHURCHILL read such a speech as the nominee of Woodstock might be expected to read.

Sir W. CLAY spoke in support of the measure; Mr. BUCK against it.

Lord H. VANE (with whom rose Mr. Bright, but who was obliged to give way) felt that the Government measure was necessary. The time for compromise had now, unfortunately, gone by; and the question was not to be settled now, except by the adoption of some such measure as that proposed by Sir R. Peel. He appealed to the country gentlemen in the House, and asked them whether it would not be advisable for them to withdraw their opposition to this measure, seeing that they could not hope to resist it effectually, after the numerous conversions which had taken place.

Sir J. TYRELL, as usual, made an amusing speech.

He gave an explanation of certain facts connected with the rejection of Mr. Ward's motion on the special burdens on land:—

It was perfectly well understood in that House, that the motion of the honourable member for Sheffield was what was called a clap-trap motion [a laugh]. The right honourable baronet, who then had the confidence of his party, felt the force of that motion, and saw the necessity for opposing it. What course did he adopt? He called together thirty or forty members of the agricultural interest, and wished to ascertain from them their views with reference to the motion of the honourable member. The majority of the agricultural members, himself amongst the number, expressed their willingness to accede to that motion. They said that they had nothing to shrink from—they were prepared for the most searching investigation—and they felt themselves highly gratified at the panegyric which the right honourable baronet passed upon them for their willingness to accede to that motion [a laugh]. The House would naturally inquire, then, how it was that the motion was not agreed to? The right honourable baronet said that he saw no advantage in acceding to it—that it was a clap-trap motion—that, if it were carried, expectations would be held out which were not likely to be realised—and, upon those grounds, he thought, on the whole, that he should meet it with a direct negative ["Hear," and a laugh].

After a characteristic allusion to "that aspiring young statesman"—Mr. Sidney Herbert—and an expression of regret at the absence of Mr. Cobden, which called forth loud cheering from both sides of the House, Sir J. Tyrrell ventured on two prophecies, which we give in his own words:—

He, however, would not hesitate to venture on a prophecy [a laugh], that so far from this being a settlement of the question, that many moons would not elapse before they would see the noble lord, the member for the city of London, coming forward with a proposition for the repeal of the differential duties on sugar. And on what grounds, did this measure pass, could such a proposition be rejected [loud Opposition cheers]? It would be, in fact, a necessary consequence [cheers]. It was, however, a matter greatly to be deplored, that all the leading men of the country, the right honourable baronet and the noble lord, seemed to have been seized with a kind of *delirium tremens* [shouts of laughter]. The right honourable baronet was actually frightened from office—the noble lord who took such high ground in Scotland, but who, when he came to London, was fain to climb upon a molehill [great laughter], had also shrunk from the task of forming a Ministry, while the hon. member for Stockport, who seemed to be a sort of crutch on which both the noble lord and the right hon. baronet were very much inclined to lean for support [laughter]—that honourable gentleman, with all the intrepidity of his character, declined to carry out his own views, when an opportunity was offered to him of accepting office ["Hear," and laughter]. He deeply regretted that the hon. gentleman had taken this course. He held his views to be more comprehensive, intelligible, and worthy of the strong mind he possessed, than were those of any other advocate of free-trade [cheers]. Well, having prophesied that the sugar duties would come down, he would now make another prophecy [much merriment]—a most extraordinary prophecy [laughter again]—that was to say, it was made ten years ago—not actually by himself, but by one of the most able and eloquent of our divines; it was made, he repeated, by a doctor of divinity [laughter], who had enjoyed the respect and esteem, and admiration of the right honourable baronet—he meant the late Dr. Arnold ["Hear," and cheers]. In a work lately published, that distinguished authority stated, that he had confidence only in those who possessed clear and strong ideas on what they were about. "For instance," the passage went, "for instance, Peel has a strong idea about the currency, and a distinct impression, and I trust him so far; but about most other matters, the church especially, he seems to have no idea [loud laughter, in which Sir Robert joined very heartily]; and, therefore, I would not trust him for not giving it all up to-morrow if the clamour were but loud enough" [cheers and laughter]. The honourable gentleman continued: He believed that the right honourable baronet was anxious to earn the approbation of posterity. He wished the right honourable baronet no harm; but the sooner he had an opportunity [peals of laughter], the sooner posterity had an opportunity [reiterated laughter] of passing a verdict on his merits the better ["Oh, oh," and laughter]. Of course he was speaking politically ["Oh! oh!"], and he was sure that posterity would do the right honourable gentleman ample justice [cheers and laughter]. When the noble lord, the member for the city of London, rose to explain to us how the right honourable baronet had been conspiring with him to hand over the agricultural interest to the tender mercies of the noble lord and the League [hear, hear], he was forcibly reminded of a certain passage in ancient history ["Hear," and laughter]. When Cassius [laughter] contemplated betraying Caesar, he did not dare to do so until he had first gained over the noble Brutus [laughter]; and so, he said, this modern Cassius would not have dared to propose the measure now before them to the House, without having gained over the opinion of that great warrior the Duke of Wellington [laughter]. Be that as it might, however, it was his sincere conviction, if the House of Commons should pass this bill, and the House of Lords confirm the verdict, that in these times of democratic tendency and waning of authority, the result would be the breaking of those ties which connected the upper with the lower—the rural with the manufacturing classes—in short, one great and disastrous social disruption [Protectionist cheers].

Mr. JAMES took pride to himself that, on every occasion since he had been in Parliament, he had voted in favour of the repeal of the corn-laws.

Sir R. PEEL observed, that two matters had occupied the attention of the House during this debate; the first was the manner in which a party ought to be conducted; and the second, how the contingency of a great political calamity could be mitigated, and how the commercial policy of a great nation should be directed. On the first question a great part of the debate has turned; but, surely, in the eyes of the people that question was subordinate to the other two questions—the precautions against an impending danger, and the principles of our commercial polity. On the party question he had nothing to offer to the House; for party interests the Government measures were bad measures:—

On the party question I admit I have little defence to make [cheers from the Protectionists]. Yes, our measures are, I admit, the very worst measures that could be adopted for party interests [vehement Opposition cheering]. I make this admission at once; and further, that it is unfortunate that the conduct of those measures (so far at least as the corn-laws are concerned) should be committed to me. I admit at once that it would be far preferable—even assuming that the question must be settled—that those should have the

credit (if credit there be) of its settlement who have been its uniform and consistent advocates [Protectionist cheers]. That which prevented myself, and those who concurred with me, from committing it to other hands, was the firm conviction under which I laboured that a part of this empire was threatened with a great famine. I did firmly believe—I do firmly believe—that there is impending over you, and will come at no remote period, a calamity which all must admit and deplore; and while there was that danger, with no hopes of averting it, I did not consider it consistent with my duty to my Sovereign, or with my honour as a public man, to take an opportunity of evading the difficulty which I saw impending [loud cheers from both sides].

He had not a word to say against the explanation which Lord John Russell made a few nights ago; but he must read a letter which Lord John Russell had not seen, and which he had addressed to her Majesty during the period when he was out of office, to show that he had not been desirous of robbing those of the credit of settling this question who had originally brought it forward, or of embarrassing their course during the settlement of it. The following is a portion of that letter:—

On the 1st of November last Sir Robert Peel advised his colleagues, on account of the alarming accounts from Ireland, and many districts in this country, as to the failure of the potato crop from disease, and for the purpose of guarding against contingencies, which in his opinion were not improbable, humbly to recommend to your Majesty that the duties on the import of foreign grain should be suspended for a limited period, either by order in Council or by legislative enactment; Parliament in either case being summoned without delay.

Sir Robert Peel foresaw that this suspension, fully justified by the tenor of the report to which he has referred, would compel, during the interval of suspension, the reconsideration of the corn-laws.

If the opinions of his colleagues had then been in concurrence with his own, he was fully prepared to take the responsibility of suspension, and of the necessary consequence of suspension, a comprehensive review of the laws imposing restrictions on the import of foreign grain and other articles of food, with a view to their gradual diminution and ultimate removal.

He was disposed to recommend, that any new laws to be enacted should contain within themselves the principle of gradual and ultimate removal.

Sir Robert Peel is prepared to support, in a private capacity, measures which may be in general conformity with those which he advised as a Minister.

It would be unbecoming in Sir Robert Peel to make any reference to the details of such measures.

Your Majesty has been good enough to inform Sir Robert Peel that it is your intention to propose to Lord John Russell to undertake the formation of a Government.

The principle on which Sir Robert Peel was prepared to recommend the reconsideration of the laws affecting the import of the main articles of food, was in general accordance with that referred to in the concluding paragraph of Lord John Russell's letter to the electors of the city of London.

Sir Robert Peel wished to accompany the removal of restriction on the admission of such articles with relief to the land from such charges as are unduly onerous, and with such other provisions as, in the terms of Lord John Russell's letter, "caution and even scrupulous forbearance may suggest."

Sir Robert Peel will support measures founded on that general principle, and will exercise any influence he may possess to promote their success.

He then read an extract from another letter to prove, that he was ready to give to his successor a hearty assistance, to enable him to carry the increased army and navy estimates which the altered circumstances of the country seemed to require. He admitted to the party which had honoured him with its support, that it was entitled to withhold from him its confidence. But was it likely that he should have voluntarily sacrificed its support, unless he had been influenced by strong motives of public duty? The month of May would not arrive without convincing the members of it that he should have abandoned his duty to his country, his Sovereign, and his party, if he had hoisted the flag of Protection for a time, knowing that he must then have deserted it. Before the House came to a decision upon this measure, it was necessary for them to know the state of Ireland as connected with it. For this purpose he read a series of letters, received by the last two Irish mails, from Sir D. Roche, Lord Stuart de Decies, and various other gentlemen in different parts of that kingdom, giving the most appalling description of the scarcity of the potato in Ireland. One-eighth of the crop was always wanted for seed; and if that quantity was not saved from consumption as food, Ireland would have to struggle with famine in the next year also. It was impossible to supply that quantity of potatoes from any foreign country; and the Government therefore proposed to get the seed potatoes into its keeping by giving other food in exchange for them. Now, in that case, would it be possible for him in May next, with a duty of 17s. on the importation of foreign corn, to call on the people to pay such a duty for the food to be distributed to the people of Ireland to save them from starvation? Supposing famine then to ensue, would the aristocracy be able to bear the odium of saying, "We will throw on the Government the responsibility of supplying the people of Ireland with food, but one iota of the corn-laws we will not part with?" He called upon Parliament to consider what had been the course taken by its predecessors on former occasions, when scarcity was impending over the country. On every occasion Parliament had removed for a time the duty on the importation of foreign corn. The cheer with which that observation was greeted he received as a unanimous, or, at any rate, a very general assent, that at a period of approaching famine the proper course to be adopted was a free importation of corn. If that were so, then he asked the House to expedite the passing of this bill, or else that all the duties on the importation of provisions be suspended. Should they decide upon the latter course, his conviction was strong that it would be impracticable, after suspending the corn-laws for six months, to bring them again into operation. Sir R. Peel then proceeded to deal with the arguments of his former followers. Mr. Baring had recommended a compromise on this subject. What was a compromise but a new law? and was this a time for producing a new law which would satisfy no party? Referring to Mr. F. Scott's curious notion of the relation existing between a sovereign and his minister, which he com-

pared to that of a client and his own counsel, he observed that there was this difference between the counsel and the minister—that the minister took an oath to give his sovereign the best counsel that his judgment could dictate, and that the counsel did no such thing. Mr. Scott had spoken of him as the counsel of a party, and had claimed for himself the privilege which was formerly claimed for himself by Anacharsis Clootz—namely, that of being the Attorney-general for the whole human race. Adverting to Mr. Colquhoun's assertion that he had not in this measure established a great principle, he remarked that if such were the case no man in the empire ought to be more indebted to him:—

If ever there was a man to whom a minister ought to be recommended because he does not establish a great principle, it is the honourable gentleman in question [laughter]. He has fought by the side of the honourable member for Wolverhampton and has voted against him—he is an advocate for a fixed duty, but he has done all he could to defeat it. I do not know whether he has so far shared so much of my misfortunes as to have read the pamphlets of a Mr. J. Colquhoun [great laughter], but I doubt not but that he will agree with me, in so far as I can understand them, that the author is an advocate for a repeal of the corn-laws.

Mr. Miles' turn came next:—

The hon. gentleman said, we must not expect the continuance of his confidence. Now, I do implore the hon. gentleman to visit those penal consequences upon us [cheers and laughter]; but I say to him, do not let this measure be lost on account of your distrust. If you believe the measure to be right, pass the measure in the present crisis, and take the opportunity, if you think fit, of punishing those in whom you have not sufficient confidence. But then the honourable gentleman, in closing his connexion with us, must excuse me if I say, he speaks too modestly of himself [laughter], for I was not always the honourable gentleman's leader. I proposed in the course of the last year that certain duties on grease should be remitted, as grease was much used in manufactures, but the honourable gentleman resisted me. Hence, avast! this is holy ground! (grease you shall not touch) [cheers and laughter]; for, said he, though grease may be introduced for the benefit of manufactures, yet I doubt the vigilance of the Custom-house officers; and some persons may introduce and use the grease intended for manufactures as butter. I do assure the honourable gentleman that it is rather hard to devolve upon me the duty of defending protection, after such measures as that; and I do not believe that the honourable gentleman, by taking this stand upon grease [laughter], did so much injury to the cause of free-trade as to the cause of protection [cheers].

Sir R. Peel ridiculed Mr. Miles' arguments with respect to the land that was thrown out of cultivation in the parish of Chizzleborough, by the last alteration in the corn-laws, and of Mr. S. O'Brien's pathetic colloquies with the tenant-farmers of his district. He then adverted to the question of immediate repeal, giving the Protectionists the option of adopting it:—

So much has been said on the subject of the corn-laws, that I cannot pass it by. Her Majesty's Ministers have proposed a measure, which they proposed from the belief that it was most likely to ensure success; namely, that, after the lapse of three years, the duties on corn should be repealed, or, at least, reduced to a nominal duty. I proposed that measure on the part of the Government, and I sincerely believed that it would be more acceptable than any other to the agricultural interest. I proposed it from the belief that it would not merely be more acceptable to them, but that it would be preferred to immediate repeal. . . . *Bona fide* believing the arrangement to be a better one—believing also that it was more for the advantage of agriculture, I, on the part of her Majesty's Government—I made that proposal [cheers]; and it is my intention to use all legitimate means I can for the purpose of giving effect to it [cheers]. It was said the other night by the honourable gentleman, the member for Somerset, that he greatly preferred—speaking on the part of the agricultural population—that he greatly preferred immediate repeal to the measure proposed; and he turned round to his friends, and that sentiment, at that time, received, apparently, a general concurrence from them. Now, sir, as I have before said, it is the intention of the Government to adhere to their own proposal. They state the reasons why they propose it, and why they are inclined to adhere to it, considering the opportunity there will be for the improvement of the country in the interval. But I stated this distinctly, that if the agricultural body are not of opinion that it is for their advantage, and that they think that immediate repeal is preferable to deferred repeal [laughter and loud cheering from the Opposition benches], by taking part with the honourable gentleman opposite, they may place me in a minority [laughter and cheers again]. Then the only consideration I shall bear in mind will be this, What course should I best take to give effect to the law as amended at your hands? We will do all we can to carry the proposition—I prefer it. I proposed it believing it to be favourable to agriculture. I don't say what course—speaking for myself—I may possibly take. I don't say what effect success here may have in other places [hear, hear]. This I will say, that my opinion with respect to the policy of the final adjustment of the corn-law will remain unaltered, and I shall decidedly prefer immediate repeal, so carried against me, to throwing this country into confusion by any attempt on my part to prevent it [loud cheers and laughter from the Opposition]. It is right to consider what course would be most advisable to adopt, and I do believe that the final adjustment of this question is now become paramount to all [cheers].

He pointed out the inconsistency and unreasonableness of their voting for the amendment:—

The question is this—her Majesty has made, surely, no unreasonable request—she has thus addressed you: "I recommend you to take into your early consideration whether the principles on which you have acted may not, with advantage, be yet more extended, and whether it may not be in your power, after a careful review of the existing duties on many articles, to make such further reductions and revisions as may tend to ensure the continuance of the great benefits to which I have reverted." And you promised that you would ["Hear," and laughter]. The answer which the House made in return gave no pledge as to the measures themselves. It was purposely so worded as to give none. But you gave this assurance, that in compliance with her Majesty's recommendation, you would take the subject into your early consideration (hear, hear). How do you fulfil that promise? Why will you refuse to go into the committee, where these measures are to be considered? After the positive assurance given to the Sovereign that you would take into consideration and determine whether it was possible, after a careful revision of the existing duties on many articles, to make such reductions as might tend to ensure the continuance of the great benefits adverted to, you

refuse even to resolve yourselves into a committee, where proposals, with a view to this object, may be entertained.

The great question was, "Shall we advance in the relaxation of protection and in the removal of prohibitory duties, or shall we stand still?" Mr. Miles said, "Stand still;" but, for the House of Commons to stand still on such a question, was to condemn every previous step which it had taken in a liberal career of commercial policy. He then entered into an eloquent defence of his past, and into a lucid explanation of his present, relaxations in our tariff; and concluded with an impressive appeal to the House, emphatically reminding them, that the present was no party question:—

The question you have to decide is simply this—Will you in this enlightened age advance or recede? Remember, the eyes of the world are upon you. Oh, act a part worthy of yourselves and of your country. Will you advance or recede? Which is the policy best suited to a great commercial empire? Remember your position—remember your great national reputation [hear, hear]. Look to the advantages which God and nature has bestowed upon you. Look to your geographical position, on the confines of Western Europe, the connecting link between the north of Europe and the continent of America. Remember that the improvements of navigation and the applications of science have brought you within ten days of Petersburg, and within ten days of New York. Look to your physical advantages—the nerves and sinews of manufacture—iron and coal—which abound throughout your country. Look to your acquired advantages, possessed as you are of a capital ten-fold greater than that of any country in the universe. Look to the inexhaustible mine of wealth that is to be found in the unwearied perseverance, the indomitable skill of your people; look to their talent, their ingenuity, their great mental power. Look, too, to your free institutions, your unshackled press, your glorious constitution, which, though it permits licentiousness, affords rational liberty to all,—look, I say, to all these things—think of the glory England has acquired from the equator to the pole, and tell me,—Is yours a country to dread competition with any country on the face of the earth [loud cheers]? What have you to fear? Why is it that paper-hangers and silk-weavers are to be turned out of employment when protecting duties are proposed to be modified? What is to be your motto? Is it to be advance, or retrograde? Other countries are now watching your example—other countries are wishing to know what is to be the result at the close of this debate. It is not a fact, that every country is determined to meet you with hostile tariffs [hear, hear]. No, there are countries which you, perhaps, least expect, and to which I did injustice, perhaps, by not naming before—as Sardinia, which has already set the example of a free importation of your woods and manufactures [hear, hear]. Naples will shortly follow the example of Sardinia [hear]. And Prussia, I can tell you, is already shaken [cheers]. France is desirous of following these examples. These countries have been controlled by the aristocracies of their manufactures and commerce, which exercise a preponderating weight in their Chambers; but the opinion of sensible men not interested in protection is bearing upon willing governments, and they are desirous of following your course, and of reciprocating the benefits you may offer to them [loud cheers]. Then the United States [hear, hear]. I believe you will give by this measure an encouragement to that party in America which is in favour of commercial intercourse with this country. But even if you do not—if you fail in this—still I repeat again, don't punish yourselves because others choose to impose restrictions upon their own commerce. This night, or whenever this debate shall close, you will have to decide what are the principles upon which your commercial policy is to be regulated [hear]. Most earnestly, from a deep conviction, founded not upon the experience of three years, but upon the experience of every relaxation of restriction and prohibition, I advise you yourselves to set the example to other countries, by persevering in the course you have begun [cheers]. It is no inconsistency on your part—it is in perfect consistency with the course you have hitherto taken. Add to those measures and you will take a government security for the preservation of peace—you will take an additional guarantee for the contentment, and happiness, and prosperity of the great body of the people [loud cheers].

The right hon. baronet, after a speech which occupied two hours and three-quarters in its delivery, resumed his seat amid loud cheering.

On the motion of Lord JOHN MANNERS, the debate was then adjourned.

PROTECTIONIST EBULLITIONS.

On Wednesday and Thursday there were two short discussions in the House of Commons, which illustrate the forlornness of the Protectionists.

Lord GEORGE BENTINCK (second son of the Duke of Portland), on the former day, moved for a return of the quantities of foreign grain in bond, with the number of the importers, and the quantities held by each. His object was to show the number of persons upon whom the Government intended to bestow the boon of a reduction of duties; for he did not believe that the consumers would have the benefit. He understood that 1,000,000 quarters of wheat were in bond, and a reduction in the duty from 14s. to 4s. would place half a million of money in the pockets of three or four hundred speculators. This he considered exceedingly wrong; it was robbing the public exchequer.

Mr. BICKHAM ESCOTT suggested an addition to the motion—a return of all the individuals who were to eat the bread of the bonded corn!

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER acceded to the motion; but reminded Lord G. Bentinck that Mr. S. O'Brien had expressed his willingness to have the ports opened; in which case, the question would not have been between a duty of 14s. and 4s., but between a duty of 14s. and nothing. He begged also to state, that importers of foreign grain had, for the most part, no intention of paying high rates of duty, but conducted their speculations on the chance of being able to relieve the grain at the shilling duty.

Mr. NEWDEGATE, Mr. WODEHOUSE, and Mr. STAFFORD O'BRIEN, repeated their assurances, that the agriculturists were perfectly willing to submit to any sacrifices to meet the apprehended scarcity. They stipulated, however, for the restriction of the relief to Ireland, where the real danger existed.

Lord GEORGE BENTINCK twitted Mr. Escott with having made a suggestion as "incomprehensible" as his conduct in reference to his constituents—holding his seat for Winchester, though deserting the cause for which he was elected. Mr. Escott rejoined, remarking, that all the persons who consumed the bread

would benefit from the lower duty, they ought to be included in the return. As to Mr. Escott's position with his constituents, Lord George Bentinck was totally ignorant of the facts.

On Thursday, before the adjourned debate was resumed, another characteristic scene occurred. One of the laborious compilations of Mr. Macgregor, of the Board of Trade, on the commercial regulations of America, has just been issued; and Mr. STAFFORD O'BRIEN, holding up the huge Blue Book, said it was full of disgraceful blunders, adducing an instance of what he considered to be one. This attempt to damage the reputation of Mr. Macgregor turned out an utter failure. Though Mr. STAFFORD O'BRIEN had not given any notice of his question, and therefore expected that his charge would have an uncontradicted run for twenty-four hours, it luckily happened that Mr. Macgregor was within hail; and, through Mr. THOMAS DUNCOMBE, the House was informed that the supposed astounding mistake was caused by a simple typographical blunder!

BURDENS ON LAND.

In the House of Lords on Monday night, Lord BEAUMONT moved for a select committee to inquire into the burdens on real property, and said, that though he believed no opposition would be offered to his motion, he felt it his duty to explain his motives in bringing it forward. He had ever held that peculiar burdens and protection to agriculture were intimately connected; that either both must be continued or both removed; and if the choice were before him, he should prefer the continuation of both to the repeal of both. He believed the maintenance of protection would be the most economical bargain that the community could make with the agriculturists. But it seemed that this choice was no longer left, and that the consideration of peculiar burdens, with a view of equalising them, would be a necessary consequence of the repeal of all protective duties. He then detailed what he considered to be the special burdens on land, such as the poor-laws, the highway-rates, the malt-tax, the excise on bricks, the hop duty, and the stamps on transfer of property. The fact was, Sir Robert Peel had put forth certain measures as a compensation to the landed interest, which he (Lord Beaumont) considered as no compensation at all. In his opinion it was impossible to estimate the loss of protection, and he would defy the most ingenious calculator to arrive at a satisfactory result. In conclusion, he begged to say that he had remained true to the cause of protection to the last, but if public opinion pronounced against him, he should not turn sulky, but submit with a good grace. This would be a better course than useless agitation, which would raise class against class, and keep up invidious distinctions.

Lord BROUGHAM was ready to go much further than Lord Beaumont, who, in his opinion, was wrong in exempting the land-tax from the list of burdens.

Lord DACRE commenced on the subject in hand, but branched out into an attack on the Anti-corn-law League. He could not help saying, that whatever doubt might exist as to the legality of that combination, there could be no question that it might be fairly termed a "conspiracy." Mr. BRIGHT had said, when speaking of the forty-shillings franchise, that "it would lay the hereditary peerage in the dust." Having called the attention of the House to this speech, and to the necessity for restraining the abuse of the forty-shillings freehold, he would no longer trespass on their time.

Lord MONTAGLE begged to propose as an amendment, that the following words be added to the motion:—

And also to inquire and report on the legislative exemptions and pecuniary advantages provided by law in respect to taxation as affecting landed property.

If there was to be an inquiry at all, it ought to be an impartial one; and if it was to be of any use, it must include every part of the subject. If the object was equality of taxation, the fair mode of dealing with the matter was to remove the inequality, not to give protection to counteract it. The noble lord then proceeded to discuss the administration of justice, the malt-tax, and the stamps on transfer of property, which he contended were either no burdens, or very much exaggerated, and called the attention of the House to numberless exemptions which had been made in favour of the landed interest.

Lord STANLEY was anxious to enter his protest against the opinion put forth by Lord Beaumont, that tithe was not a peculiar burden on land; on the contrary, he agreed with Lord Brougham in thinking that the land-tax and tithe were burdens upon land in the sense in which they were now talking of burdens, and that in throwing these on one side Lord Beaumont had thrown away the strongest part of his case. He could not agree with Lord Beaumont in thinking that the abolition of protection was already settled, though he concurred with him in his desire that the opinion of the country should be deliberately taken on the question. Unless this were done, the measure, instead of being an undoubted good, could not fail to be an unmitigated evil.

The Duke of RICHMOND could not consider the corn-laws settled, because he could not conceive any members of the House of Commons would be sufficiently daring to pass the bill contrary to every pledge they had given on the hustings. If this measure passed, the excitement now going on would be still kept up, and he believed the League would never be content till it had destroyed the Established Church, and every other institution which the House felt called on to stand by and defend. He declared that he would do his best to defeat the Ministerial proposition.

Lord GREY would not be led by the Duke of Richmond into a premature discussion of the Ministerial measure, as he wished to confine himself strictly to the subject before the House. He sincerely regretted that Lord Beaumont had raised this question of landed burdens, because he felt convinced that the landowners would be found, on investigation, to bear less, instead of more, than their due share of taxation:—"Out of every species of burden imposed upon the landed interest, he (Earl Grey) only knew one of which they had just ground to complain, and that was the stamp duty on conveyances. He believed that, of all the impolitic taxes

that ever were imposed, that was the most impolitic. . . . This single tax excepted, wherever he looked, he found, not special burdens on the land, but special exemptions. Some jokes had been made about shepherds' dogs and agricultural horses, but he really wished to know why agricultural horses were to be exempted from taxation any more than the horses of a brewer, for instance, with whom they were as much stock-in-trade as with the agriculturist. He would not detain their lordships much longer, but he thought the House would be doing wisely by leaving the distribution of the public burdens to others. He himself should be perfectly ready, in the hope of passing so large and useful a measure as that which was now before the Legislature, to acquiesce in the concessions which it was thought advisable to offer to the agricultural interest. But, although he did not intend to object to these concessions, he could not help recommending their lordships not to press these inquiries too far. The topics to which he had already adverted were not unknown to those whose vision was clear enough to see the weak points in the case of the landowner, and who had energy enough to press those topics, if necessary, to a trying conclusion. If the landowner attempted to drive a hard bargain with these gentlemen it would lead them to look at the matter in a very different temper to that in which they had hitherto viewed it, and to put forward arguments which it would be very difficult for the landowner to meet. In France, it had been stated in the House of Commons by the honourable member for Sheffield, in the year 1838, that out of an income of £42,000,000 in that year, no less than £10,000,000, being one-fourth of the whole, was contributed by a direct tax upon real property. In Austria rather more than one-half of the public burdens were borne by real property. Up to the time of the Revolution, the land bore a very large part of the public taxation. In the reign of William the Third, a tax of four shillings in the pound was levied upon the land. That tax continued of the same nominal amount, but the valuation of 1692 being adhered to, the burden remained nominally the same, but it really became a mere trifle. The whole valuation of real property at that time, subject to the land-tax, in 1692, was only about ten millions, because at that time a tax of 1s. in the pound produced only £500,000 a year; and to make up the ten millions he was much mistaken if in the land-tax were not included salaries and income from personal property and other sources, to a great extent [hear, hear]. But by a recent valuation to the income tax—a return of which was laid before the House of Commons, showing the valuation for England and Wales—it appeared that real property only, strictly so called—he meant houses, lands, manors, tithes, and mines—were worth no less than eighty-five millions a year. And that valuation excluded all incomes under £150 a year. Therefore, the land was only now bearing the charge imposed upon that property when it was less than one-eighth of its present amount. He would respectfully suggest that, as their lordships had not the power of originating measures of taxation, they would show great prudence in abstaining from agitating this question [hear, hear]."

Lord ASHBURTON had great doubts of the expediency of the proposed committee, which was more likely to be a scene of wrangling than productive of any important collection of facts.

After a few words from Lord BEAUMONT, the motion, as amended, was agreed to, and the nomination of the committee fixed for Tuesday.

MISCELLANEOUS.

THE IRISH POOR-LAW.—On Wednesday, Mr. SHARMAN CRAWFORD, referring to the apprehended scarcity of food in Ireland, suggested the propriety of introducing a bill to empower the Boards of Guardians to give out-door relief. Under the Poor-law Act for England a discretionary power was given to grant out-door relief; and he thought a similar arrangement should exist in Ireland. Sir JAMES GRAHAM would not assent to an alteration in the law for the mere purpose of meeting a temporary difficulty. With the view of showing the great interest which Government were taking in the state of that country, Sir James enumerated precautionary measures before the House to guard against want of employment, scarcity of food, and the casualty of fever. Mr. FRENCH questioned the efficiency of the measures referred to by Sir James Graham to meet the apprehended evil; he feared that employment would be too long postponed to be of use.

RAILWAY BILLS.—The Select Committee on Railways appointed by the Commons has presented a second report. The leading recommendations are—the appointment of a "Classification Committee," to which all railway bills shall be presented, and who shall "inquire and report (to the House) what railway bills compete with, or ought to be considered in connexion with, any railway bills the promoters of which shall have proved themselves entitled to the privilege agreed to be granted in certain cases by the resolutions of this House of the 7th July last," and "shall form into groups all other railway bills which in their opinion it would be expedient to submit to the same Committee." Another recommendation is, that each member of a Committee on a railway bill, before he is entitled to act, shall sign a declaration that his constituents have no local interest, and that he himself has no personal interest in the result of any bill referred to his consideration. The bulk of the report is occupied with minute details as to the attendance of members, the management of matters in the Committee, and the submitting of reports to the House. It was adopted on Thursday.

CRIME IN IRELAND.—In the House of Lords, on Thursday, the Marquis of CLANRICARDE moved for certain returns, showing the number of murders, and attempts at murder, which had taken place in Ireland since the 1st January, 1842, with the rewards offered, &c. The Marquis attached blame to the Executive Government for not adopting measures to prevent the extension of violent crimes. If the existing laws were not sufficient to accomplish the object, application for increased powers ought to have been made to Parliament. The Earl of ST. GERMAN'S intimated, that on Monday he should submit a bill to the House, framed in accordance with the recommendations in the Queen's



speech, and intended to accomplish the object referred to by Lord Clanricarde.

NEW WRITS have been issued—for South Nottinghamshire, in the room of the Earl of Lincoln; for Westminster, in the room of Captain Rous; for the county of Mayo, in the room of Mr. M. Blake; for the North Division of Nottinghamshire, in the room of the late Mr. Gally Knight; for East Gloucestershire, in the room of the Honourable Francis Charteris.

MOTIONS.—On the 24th instant, Mr. DUNCOMBE will move an address to the Queen, praying for the liberation of Frost, Williams, and Jones. With reference to his motion on the interference of Peers in elections, Mr. J. COLLETT gave notice that, instead of moving for a select committee, as he had at first intended, he would move for a committee of privileges. Lord DUNCAN postponed, until the 26th of February, his motion for the repeal of the window-tax.

FACTORY BILL.—On the motion of Mr. FIELDEN, the second reading of the Factory Bill was postponed to the 5th of March.

LANDLORD AND TENANT (IRELAND).—In reply to Mr. S. CRAWFORD, Sir R. PEEL said he hoped Government would be able to introduce a measure on this subject during the present session.

POSTSCRIPT.

Wednesday, February 18th.

FAMINE AND DISEASE IN IRELAND.

In the House of Commons, last night, Mr. O'CONNELL brought forward his motion for an inquiry into the state of famine and disease in Ireland. The existence of a calamity was indisputable; the only question was as to its extent. He was in possession of information which would show that the calamity was more general, pressing, and awful, than the House had any idea of—a calamity not caused by any deficiency in the fertility of the soil, or the industry of the people, but which arose from one of those dispensations of Providence which were beyond the control of man. Illustrating his subject by the citation of a mass of statistical and other documents, he showed the state of permanent depression in which the Irish people habitually live—potatoes their only staple food—water their only drink; and then went copiously into details, exhibiting the alarming condition of the country under the pressure of the present calamity. Famine in Ireland was invariably accompanied by typhus fever; and this fact, with a population of five millions always on the verge of starvation, was of itself appalling. They could easily command funds for meeting the emergency. A revenue of £74,000 under the Woods and Forests, derived from Ireland, had been for years applied to the improvement of the metropolis, and the ornament of Trafalgar-square. Let them lay an income-tax on the rents of Irish landlords; thirty or forty per cent. on absentees, ten per cent. on residents: for the tenant must perish if the landlord did not contribute. He suggested other expedients, as that of the Government taking into their own hands the control and direction of the construction of railways, so as to provide the means of immediate employment. The measures already adopted by the Government he highly applauded, but they were trivial when compared with a great exigency—when death threatened the land. He concluded by proposing his motion, that the House should go into committee in order to consider the state of Ireland.

Sir JAMES GRAHAM complimented Mr. O'Connell for the moderation of his tone, and the absence of all exaggeration in his statements. He then recounted what the Government had done, from the appointment of the commission in November last, to inquire into the failure of the potato crop, down to the introduction of the Public Works Bill, the Drainage Bill, &c., in each of which there is a grant of public money; the entire amount, in the shape of grant or otherwise, intended to be applied by Government for the promotion of employment being no less than £468,000. In addition, it was anticipated that no less a sum than nine millions would be expended during the next three years in the construction of railroads. Under the operation of the poor-law, destitution would be relieved in the workhouse, and disease would be attended to in temporary fever hospitals; and the Government were prepared to introduce a measure, founded on a precedent in the year 1832, for the purpose of providing extraordinary precautions to guard against the spread of infectious disorder. These efforts, he trusted, would meet the present emergency, in which it was calculated that nearly one-half of the potato crop had failed; and in order to prevent the recurrence of similar calamities, and to lay a foundation for the permanent improvement of Ireland, he trusted that the House would promptly take the primary step of relaxing the laws which restrict the importation of food.

After a somewhat bitter speech from Mr. JOHN O'CONNELL, on the subject of repeal, Lord JOHN RUSSELL said, he hoped that, after the statement of Sir James Graham as to what the Government intended to do, Mr. O'Connell would not, at present, press his motion. It would be in his power to renew it if he found that the proposed measures were ineffective for the crisis.

The motion was withdrawn.

THE ADJOURNED DEBATE

on the Ministerial scheme, was resumed by Lord John Manners. He neither dreaded free-trade nor hoped much from it, but he deprecated a rash and hasty intermeddling with great interests, and was of opinion that the settlement of the question should be referred to a new Parliament. To such a motion he would give his hearty support, but would strenuously oppose the proposition for going into committee, with a view to repeal the corn-laws. Open the ports if the danger were imminent—now, late as it was; but let them leave it to the people of England to say whether or not they should be closed.

Captain LAYARD made an animated speech in favour of the Ministerial scheme. He told the Protectionists

“that the Premier's speech had taken the wind out of their sails.”

Mr. ROBERT PALMER (Berks) took an opposite course, expressing his willingness to assent to a temporary opening of the ports, but objecting that so great, sudden, and permanent a change should be based on a temporary difficulty.

Sir C. NAPIER followed. He said, that if the honourable gentlemen opposite, instead of talking nonsense in Parliament, were to devote a little of their thoughts and time to a proper cultivation of their land, they need not trouble themselves much with apprehensions of foreign competition. He himself had taken a bit of land into cultivation, which, before his time, had proved a dead loss to the occupiers, but now grew crops of turnips, each turnip as thick and as large as the head of any of the honourable gentlemen opposite. Sir Charles told the Protectionists that he felt sure that their fears for their own rents were really at the bottom of all this senseless opposition.

Mr. SHAW then made an oration against the Premier, reiterating that which has been so often said before, in better language, perhaps, and with more graceful gestures, than any of the previous speakers on that side.

Mr. BRIGHT then addressed the House. He informed the vituperative members of the Protectionist section of the House, that the public did not care a straw about the quarrel in the great Conservative party. The subject before them was protection or no protection—to this he addressed himself; and went through the arguments which had been adduced, contending that under our existing policy the agricultural labourers received the smallest share of the produce of the soil, while the land was inadequately cultivated. Protection had destroyed the vitality of agriculture. He ridiculed the supposititious calamities which were alleged as likely to result from the repeal of the corn-laws:—

We have all heard of men going merrily to battle, with a chance of losing their heads or gaining that glory which they look on as a sufficient reward for every peril. We have even heard of some reckless and daring criminals who joked upon the scaffold; but never could we imagine men sliding into the unfathomable abyss of ruin with faces so jovial and complacent as those of the honourable Protectionists opposite [loud laughter from both sides]. You say, the right honourable baronet is a traitor. It would ill become me to attempt his defence after the speech which he delivered last night [loud cheers from the Opposition]—a speech, I will venture to say, more powerful and more to be admired than any speech which has been delivered within the memory of any man in this House [cheers again]. I watched the right honourable baronet as he went home last night, and for the first time I envied him his feelings [loud cheers].

No obstruction had been placed in the way of the formation of a Protectionist Government. But who amongst their ranks would dare to sit on the Treasury bench as Ministers for upholding the corn-laws? The measure of the Government was a great and comprehensive one; its blemish was the delay of three years, instead of rendering the repeal of the corn-law immediate. He defended the Anti-corn-law League, and warned the Agricultural members to beware of the consequences which would follow their opposition, supposing it were successful.

Mr. HUDSON had not been convinced by anything he had heard, that a sudden and temporary calamity should be the reason why the corn-laws should be repealed.

The debate was again adjourned, on the motion of Lord DUNCAN, to Thursday; and there appears, at present, no symptoms of its early termination.

There were a large number of petitions presented against the enrolment of the militia; amongst them, one from Leicester, (also against all military establishments), signed by 3,000 persons.

THE HOUSE OF LORDS sat only for a short time last night. The only business of interest, was the appointment of the following peers as a select committee, to inquire into the burdens on real property:—

The President of the Council, the Lord Privy Seal, the Dukes of Buckingham and Richmond, the Marquis of Lansdowne, the Marquis of Salisbury; the Earls of Aberdeen, Stradbroke, Lovelace, Grey, Radnor, Malmesbury, Hardwicke, and Ellenborough; Lords Ashburton, Dacre, Brougham, Cottenham, Beaumont, Monteagle, Redesdale, Colchester, Stanley, and Dalhousie.

WESTMINSTER ELECTION.

(THIS DAY.)

STATE OF THE POLL.

	Nine.	Ten.	Eleven.	Twelve.
EVANS	659	1,091	1,668	2,114
ROUS	284	797	1,180	1,650

General Evans' return may therefore be considered as secured.

REPRESENTATION OF LEICESTER.—The intimation in last week's *Nonconformist*, that the electors of the Tower Hamlets wish to have Mr. George Thompson for a representative, has greatly increased the desire to secure his services for this borough, and the hopes entertained by some individuals that that intimation would discourage his friends, have been altogether disappointed. The requisition, being taken amongst the electors by a few voluntary canvassers, in their limited leisure time, and without the advantage of an analysis of the register, has not progressed as it would have done with paid agents accustomed to the work; but already so large a number of signatures has been obtained as to render the success of any third Liberal candidate altogether hopeless. And, in addition to this, an almost universal feeling of respect has been manifested even by those who declined, for the present, attaching their signatures. But very few persons, indeed, had any objection to make to the gentleman brought before them. Many electors who have never heard Mr. Thompson are anxious to do so; and it needs but his appearance to create a general feeling of enthusiasm in his favour.—*From our Correspondent.*

FORTHCOMING ELECTIONS.—The nomination for East Gloucestershire is fixed for Friday week, and no opposition to the election of the Marquis of Worcester is

expected. Mr. Charteris will not again come forward.—Lord Lincoln's prospects for South Nottingham are anything but cheering. The Protectionists reckon their majority at 800; the *Times*' correspondent thinks it will amount to 400 votes, if Lord Lincoln goes to the poll; which is very doubtful. The noble Earl retains nearly all the attorneys of Nottingham and Newark. The farmers are canvassing their respective parishes themselves in Mr. Hildyard's interest. Mr. Hildyard's committee say, that if Lord Lincoln proceeds to a poll, it will cost his lordship £10,000; and, that if he retires after the nomination, his expenses will not be much less than £5,000.

THE WESTMINSTER ELECTION.—The nomination of candidates took place yesterday, as usual, in front of St. Paul's church, Covent-garden, and long before twelve o'clock, thousands of the electors and non-electors had assembled, to hear, or rather to witness, the proceedings of the nomination. The candidates were—the late member, Captain Rous, and General De Lacy Evans, the former representative of the city. There could not have been less than 10,000 persons present, and though tolerably free in the expression of their opinions, a general good humour seemed to prevail, which, spite of other disagreeables, made the matter pass off more pleasantly than usual. Mr. T. C. Wood proposed, and Lord Francis Egerton seconded, Captain Rous. General Evans was proposed by Mr. Bouverie, and seconded by Dr. Bainbridge. Both candidates addressed the assembled multitude at considerable length. The show of hands being then taken, not more than 200 were held up for Captain Rous, and a perfect forest of fingers for General Evans. The High Bailiff pronounced the result to be in favour of General Evans, and a poll having been demanded by Captain Rous, the vast assemblage quietly dispersed.

THE FUNERAL OF BRYAN SEERY, who was executed at Mullingar on Thursday last, took place on Sunday, in the presence of vast multitudes of the country people, whose numbers were estimated to amount to 50,000 or 60,000 souls. The greatest decorum was observed throughout the day, there not being the slightest disposition evinced by the peasantry to commit a breach of the peace.

THE POTATO DISEASE IN IRELAND.—The most deplorable accounts of distress and impending scarcity continue to be received from the country districts, and meetings are in progress to provide employment and other sources of relief. Meantime, the Government are proceeding with their precautionary arrangements, by storing Indian corn and meal. At Cork, 300,000 bushels are being delivered. At Limerick, two cargoes have arrived, and others are expected. The citizens of Dublin hold a meeting to-day on the subject.

Among those who are most likely to be well informed, it is confidently stated that Her Majesty's confinement is not expected before the end of May.—*Times.*

PROBABLE RETIREMENT OF SIR R. PEEL.—A very considerable sensation has been produced in high quarters here by the receipt of assurances from London, that immediately upon the passing of his measures now before Parliament, Sir Robert Peel will retire from office.—*Times' Paris Correspondent.*

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.—The dissolution of Narvaez ministry was announced at Madrid on the 10th instant. It was brought about by “the Trapani marriage” question, in which Narvaez supported the views of the Queen-Mother, but to which the majority of his colleagues and all Spain objected. On the 11th the Marquis of Miraflores and Gen. Roncali were sent for by her Majesty, and it is understood that the former was entrusted with the task of forming a new Ministry.—Matters are proceeding to such a height in Berne and elsewhere, in Switzerland, that a new outbreak is deemed inevitable. Austria is preparing for intervention, but the French Government are not likely to venture on such a step.—The *Times*' correspondent writes:—“On Monday last, the 9th instant, a general insurrection was to take place throughout Poland, and, it is said, Galicia. I fear that I was but too well informed, and that ere this, most melancholy events will have taken place in that unhappy country. The contemplated insurrection was to be confined to ‘Young Poland.’ None of the veteran patriots of that devoted land were to be allowed to participate in it. At the first view nothing can appear more utterly desperate. There are in Poland, 80,000 regular Russian troops, and the population is disarmed.” The same authority also states, that there is a wide-spread conspiracy in the Russian army. The liberal ferment in the public mind of Germany, is regarded as capable of giving force to any revolutionary movement of the Poles. Everywhere the German people call for constitutional institutions. From Italy there is no news. The Roman States are still menaced by a political revolt.

THE POTATO CALAMITY.—This root is now getting so scarce, that a farmer in the neighbourhood of Stirling, who was able to pick out a few bolls of pretty good ones, sold them this week at 20s. the boll of six to the ton.—*Stirling Observer.*

POLICY OF THE CZAR.—The *Frankfort Post Amts Zeitung* says, that the Czar has issued decrees at Olivizza, one of which annuls all the measures adopted against the Catholics, and restores to them the free exercise of their religion, with the exception of the Society of the Jesuits, who continue to be excluded. The same journal speaks of an important decree, granting an amnesty in favour of the Poles, and restoring to them their property; but this strange change in the policy of the Czar requires confirmation.—*Augsburg Gazette.*

CORN MARKET. MARK LANE. THIS DAY.

	Wheat	Barley	Oats	Beans	Peas	Flour.
English	4820	6590	3530			4410
Scotch						
Irish			4370			
Foreign	1230	640	1600			

Trade much the same; but dull.

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For 7 lines....6s. 6d. | For 10 lines....6s. 6d.
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Advertisements from the country must be accompanied by a post-office order, or reference for payment in London.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

Communications have been received from "B. Arthur," "G. Tobit," "D. Rees," "W. Price," and "D. Maclaren," for which we beg to return our sincere thanks.

We cannot occupy our columns with the correspondence sent to us from Litchingdon.

"A constant Reader." We really know nothing of the sect, and very little of the opinions entertained by them.

In the Welsh Sketch which appeared in our last number, there was a typographical error. It was stated that colliers and miners earn from £5 to £7 per week—it should have been from £5 to £7 per month.

The Nonconformist.

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, FEB. 18, 1846.

SUMMARY.

THE great debate has not yet closed. The subject of it is exhausted, but not the list of speakers. If appearances were to be taken as decisive of the matter, we should conclude that the House will not come to a division this week. No sooner has one speaker finished, than about a score start from their seats in the desperate hope of catching the Speaker's eye. There are several men of mark who have tried in vain, night after night, "to be put in possession of the floor," as the Americans phrase it. The Protectionists, hitherto, have been most successful, and perhaps it is as well for the country that the speaking should have been mainly on their side. It would be a needless waste of time and space to comment upon every effusion which the Ministerial proposition has called forth. Some of them, however, have been peculiarly characteristic. Lord Worsley was smart and dexterous in wielding Hansard; Mr. Colquhoun taxed the Premier with having lost his position, because he had never, as in other cases, manfully met the foe—never embodied in his policy a commanding principle; Mr. T. Baring was mercantile, but his argument proceeded, not upon the benefit which Protection gives to the people of the empire, but of the profits which it brings to the merchant's firm; Mr. Scott was melo-dramatic. He got up a little parody on the dagger scene of Burke. He quoted some extracts, then tore them in pieces, and threw the fragments beneath his feet. He began by representing Sir Robert Peel as a retained barrister suddenly throwing up his brief, and when quietly, but slyly, asked in the course of his argument for whom he was counsel, burst forth in uncontrollable fury, and having given vent to his indignation, apologised for his warmth. Mr. P. Miles blundered, with singular self-possession, upon all the fallacies which have been exploded since the corn-laws first came under serious discussion, and read documents until there was an audible moan throughout the House. He referred to Tamboff as a country of immense extent and extraordinary fertility, and anticipated from that quarter, the geographical boundaries of which he did not define, countless millions of quarters of wheat to inundate the British population with foreign food. Lord Northland retained all his opinions in favour of Protection, and denounced the scheme of Ministers as little short of revolutionary, but since Protection must be given up, he would rather it should be given up by men in whom he had confidence, than by the Whigs, in whom he had none. The Earl of March was a juvenile translation of the Duke of Richmond, and Sir John Tyrrell was furiously comic, quoting, not Hansard, but Arnold, as evidence that Sir Robert Peel would give up anything if sufficiently pressed.

On the side of free-trade, Lord Morpeth has delivered one of the best speeches. There was about it a truthfulness and generosity of principle quite reviving to the spirits, after all the dullness, narrowness, and selfishness, which had preceded him. His address to the aristocracy, to work the institutions of the country in a more democratic spirit, and to beware of resting their claims upon any basis but their virtues, was peculiarly timely, faithful, and impressive. Mr. Roebuck made good his own language. He said, at starting, that he had nothing to retract, nothing to defend, but everything to assail. He then laid about him in his own trenchant manner, and convicted the Premier, by allowing the sincerity of his present change, of utter want of statesmanship throughout his former life. Mr. Ward and Mr. Milner Gibson also spoke, both of them cleverly, but neither of them with remarkable power. We come now to Sir R. Peel. We are quite unable to do justice to this masterly oration—the best, because the least sophistical, of all the hon. baronet's Parliamentary effusions. In pointing out the superior claims of the country over party upon Ministerial consideration and obedience, he was calm but dignified; in vindicating his own anxiety to provide food for the people, he was happy and successful; in describing the alarming nature of the present exigency, solemn and impressive; in showing the connexion between a temporary suspension of the corn-laws and their speedy abolition, he was more than usually convincing. Having established, triumphantly, his own position he turned, as though in mere exuberance of spirit, to play with his adversaries. Poor Mr. Colquhoun was held up by his heels amidst the laughter of the whole House.

Fiery Mr. Scott was pricked with most malicious good humour in his tenderest part; and as to Mr. Miles, who took his stand last year on grease and this year on Chizzleborough, he must have been glad to hear those words for the last time, for the reiteration of them must have been killing. Sir Robert pointed out with peculiar felicity the fix into which the Protectionists had put themselves by their motion. They had voted for the Address to the Queen, in which they had said, that they would consider whether the principle of relaxing commercial restrictions might not be carried further with benefit to the people, and now, upon the first motion for going into committee to take that subject under consideration, spite of their former assurance to her Majesty, they moved the postponement of the whole subject for six months. About immediate repeal, he declared that he had proposed the interval of three years, not merely because he thought himself more likely to carry it, but because, on the whole, he believed it the best arrangement which could be made; but, if the Protectionists really preferred immediate repeal, and, in hope of subverting his administration, out-voted him on that point, then he should consider whether it would not be his duty to accept the alteration, rather than peril the best interests of the country at this crisis, by leaving her Majesty without an efficient Cabinet. He concluded his speech by an appeal to the intelligence of the House and of the age. He asked whether our motto was to be "Advance" or "Retrograde." He insisted upon the beneficial effect which our example would have upon surrounding nations; and he reminded the gentlemen of England, that if another period should come round of difficulty and suffering, when the people must be exhorted to bear their destiny with fortitude, it would be a consolation for them to reflect that, in a time free from excitement, they had removed every impediment to the unrestricted action of commerce.

In the House of Lords, a Committee has been granted on the motion of Lord Beaumont, to inquire into the burdens on real property, and the impediments to agricultural transactions caused by the present system of excise duties, poor-laws, and local taxation. Lord Brougham, who has become the Don Quixote of the Legislature, and seems disposed to run a tilt in favour of every cause which other people have given up as hopeless, said he was ready to go a great deal further than Lord Beaumont in maintaining the peculiar burdens weighing upon agriculture. Lord Montague succeeded in attaching an amendment to the motion, to the effect, that the Committee should inquire and report on the legislative exemptions and pecuniary advantages provided by law in respect to taxation as affecting landed property. Earl Grey spoke out manfully. He warned their lordships that they had far better let the matter rest where it is, for, by attempting to drive a hard bargain, claims might be raised on the other side which it might be difficult to resist, and inconvenient to concede.

There are tokens in the political atmosphere, which look as if commercial reform was not to be carried so easily as was expected. It was natural, that upon an event so unlooked-for as the *pronunciamento* of the Prime Minister, a period of collapse should ensue on the Protectionists' side, and be followed by an attempt to rally. The defections from the Minister are understood to be more than were calculated upon; and some who were reckoned as "gentle convertites" have shown signs of drawing back.

What this points and tends to, is evidently, that the Lords are to muster determination to throw out the bill; the consequence of which will be a Dissolution of Parliament. Wise men therefore are bound to look forward and prepare. The sooner in any case an enemy displays his plans, the better for the other side.

It is not impossible that this movement may have been encouraged by the determination, rather ostentatiously put forward by what must be called the Liberal side, to move no amendment in favour of immediate repeal. To the comprehension of an adversary this said very distinctly, "We are ready to concede three years' possession of the corn-laws as proposed, on condition that we are not sent back this year to our constituents." The only way in which any imaginable closing of the Protectionists with the amendment could have operated, would have been by sending to the Lords a bill which they were less likely to pass now. The three years' possession was therefore to be offered as a bribe to the Lords, for the chance of their passing the encumbered bill now, instead of the unencumbered one six months hence, as would be the probable result of their throwing out the bill now, with the attendant Dissolution.

In all this, the *primum mobile* has been the dread of Dissolution. Of which dread, one part arises only from the dislike of men to part with what they have got; but another part perhaps, from the belief that a Dissolution a year hence, would be more favourable to the Liberal side than now. Against which last must be set off, that anything given or conceded upon the strength of it, is very likely to be given for nothing after all. The Minister, in whose hands a Dissolution is by the wisdom of our ancestors a part of the juggle he has to play, is as well aware of the fact as anybody else. Like the Spanish soldier who invoked the aid of the Virgin to leap upon his horse, and then fell over on the other side, he "does not want the Virgin to be too good." His wishes will point to what will set him in the saddle, but not more. The last course his desires will shape, will be towards that superfluity of vigour which should give him trouble afterwards.

On the whole then, the note of preparation through

the country should go forth; and the League, by operations at Bristol and in other places, has wisely led the way.

We have scarcely space for even a passing notice of other matters. There has been another meeting of Wiltshire labourers. Chichester and Buckingham have concluded their elections, in consequence of the dictates respectively of the Dukes of Richmond and Buckingham; the electors of those boroughs "understanding," as was said by one of themselves, and he a Dissenter, "on which side their bread was buttered," or in other words, consenting to sell their country for a mess of pottage.—Lord Lincoln is labouring hard in South Notts., but with some doubt as to his success—North Notts. has no free-trade candidate hitherto in the field, and Lord Bentinck stands as an advocate for Protection. Dorsetshire will send two Squires of the thorough-bred Tory race.—Rutlandshire has returned Mr. G. Finch, a Protectionist.—Westminster will probably return General Sir de Lacy Evans in place of Captain Rous, the newly-appointed Lord of the Admiralty.

The latest intelligence from the United States is of a most gratifying character. The tide of opinion in favour of peace and moderation has set in, and the current has been deepened and enlarged by the pacific bearing of England. Our American brethren are surprised that the President's Message created so little excitement and animosity on this side the Atlantic, are convinced of the sincerity of our desire for peace, and seem somewhat ashamed at their own violent and precipitate proceedings in the Oregon affair. They have had a foretaste of war in the general stagnation of business and decline of prosperity, which a mere apprehension of its approach has created, and are satisfied. While in this favourable state of mind, the English mail arrives, bringing fresh guarantees of our desire for peace in the commercial policy of the present Government. We have never anticipated war as likely to grow out of this question. We have viewed it all along as one of party politics on the other side of the Atlantic, and we must say, that the mode in which it has been prosecuted in the United States Congress, is not merely a disgrace to America, but a flagrant insult to the age.

SPEECH WORSE THAN SILENCE.

COLERIDGE, we believe it is, who tells an amusing story, showing how little first impressions are to be trusted. At a dinner party, he had observed a gentleman of prepossessing exterior, whose bald head, grave, but benevolent countenance, earnest attention to passing conversation, and singular taciturnity, begat in the mind of the poet a lively interest in him, a desire to know more of him, and an expectation of finding in him something worthy of acquaintance. After indulging in many and various speculations in his favour, his curiosity was very unexpectedly but laughably satisfied. Some Norfolk dumplings were placed on the table, from which the cover had no sooner been removed, than the mysterious stranger rubbed his hands, and exclaimed, "Ah! them's the jockies for me!"

This man was a true type of the squirearchy in St. Stephens. By a stranger, their very presence in the House of Commons might be taken as a guarantee for their intelligence. Ranging his eye along the Ministerial benches he would see a body of men whose portly form, staid aspect, frank and hearty manners, and earnest appreciation of the points in the speech of a Conservative leader, indicate a reserve of power which, whenever necessity should force it into action, would tell with formidable effect upon opponents. Not unnatural would be his desire that some occasion might arise for the exhibition of that latent strength. We can fancy the interest with which he would watch for the display—the settled air of attention with which he would compose himself to listen—the beaming anticipation which would light up his features at the prospect of a better acquaintance with "The fine old English gentleman"—and lastly, the blank astonishment which would seize him, body and soul, as the utterances of the agricultural mind, one after another, fell upon his ear. The men have opened their mouths, and the charm is dissolved.

The debate still in progress, on the commercial policy of the country, has afforded country gentlemen an opportunity of speaking what was in them—and for their own sakes it is a thousand pities they did not keep silence. They have come out in a light so preposterously contemptible, that were we not held in check by the recollection that these men are legislators, immoderate laughter would shake us into serious peril. 'Tis plain they can form no conception of imperial policy larger than what may be implied in a bargain between themselves and a minister of the crown. Corn at 56s. and upwards is their only view of national prosperity. Cheap bread is ruin. Increased supplies of cattle are a calamity. Abundance of food a withering curse. They see famine approaching, and they would frighten it away with cries of "No Surrender." They hear that population is increasing, and they would make provision for it by virulent abuse of the League. Ask them how the impending crisis is to be met, and they reply with vociferations against the treachery of Peel. From first to last, they have contented themselves with a vulgar ebullition of sordid passions. They have suggested nothing. They have proffered no counsel. They have scarcely deigned to discuss the merits of the question before them. They have alternately whined and bellowed—whined their complaints, and bellowed their abuse.

If, now, this party of self-revealed dunderheads

succeed in throwing the affairs of the country into dire confusion, the classes who will suffer most from their success—the commercial, manufacturing, and trading classes—will learn, perhaps, if it be not too late, that a due and patriotic regard to the well-being of the empire must needs be interested in effecting an organic change. Why is the House of Commons stuffed with such impenetrable material? How comes it that such an amount of rural ignorance finds its way into our legislature? These men talk of representing the country—they demand an immediate appeal to the people—they stickle for constitutional observances, and prate about the betrayal of freedom. There are no bounds to the political cant which, passing current in Parliament, is circulated in small change by the gentry, and would-be gentry, out of doors. Does not every one know that the country is gagged, and that its assent to, or dissent from, the policy of Ministers, can only be constitutionally known by a sort of throttle-utterance of distress? One by one, these squires are returned to the House of Commons, sent thither by the family interest of this or the other patrician, and they actually talk of themselves as if they were chosen by popular acclamation. They have told their story so often, that they have come to believe it. They really think themselves the organs of the national will. Their votes are said to indicate an empire's judgment. And we—we of the middle classes—who know that more than half the borough elections, and all but a few of those for counties, are decided not by the opinion of constituencies, but by the fiat of peers, give in to the delusion, and allow language to be held, uncontradicted by us, which conveys impressions as false in their own character as they are disgraceful to our reputations.

The time is not far distant, we would fain hope, when men of all parties claiming to be regarded as intelligent, will revolve this question seriously in their minds—Whether any system of complete popular representation hitherto propounded, could, in practical working, throw up to the surface so large a proportion of obstructive rubbish as that which the present system forces into the Commons' House of Parliament?

"MAUDLIN SYMPATHY."

THIS is, now-a-days, the term of contempt with which practical opposition to death-punishments is assailed. Like most phrases of the kind, it carries double-bears a meaning which is true behind a suggestion which is false. There is such a thing, doubtless, as "maudlin sympathy"—but whether the interest usually awakened in the public mind towards criminals appointed to die be of this sort, it is far easier to assert than to maintain.

We have a thorough conviction, that as the march of refinement proceeds, as human life comes to be better understood and more adequately appreciated, and as Christianity takes deeper hold upon the heart of society, this "maudlin sympathy," as it is called, will increase. It is not elicited by crime, but by death. It is not felt by the brutal, but by the civilised. It is not a mere gush of feeling, but the result of a far-seeing reason. To take the life of man—to wrench it from him by violence—to shorten his days of probation and discipline—to send him, at our own bidding, to his final account—to fix upon him an unalterable doom, by dashing in pieces the exquisite framework of animal mechanism by which his Maker has connected him with the present world and with its opportunities and responsibilities—will not be done with less misgiving, we may be well assured, in proportion as the wonderful mystery of man's being and destiny is recognised by society at large. As an atmosphere of light from the other world is seen to envelope life in this, and man is looked upon as the infant of eternity, it may not be esteemed so light a thing to cut short his days as journalists, with well-strung nerves, may think. Facts indicate as much. The purest-hearted people almost lose sight of crime, however monstrous, the moment death poises his dart to avenge it. It is useless to decry the childishness of such philanthropy. The tear will start at the view of irremediable destruction. The man will get the better of the philosopher. You cannot prevent it. Attention quits the brief past, to fasten on the interminable future. The disgust which wickedness had inspired is overborne by the concern which the heavy doom awakens. One moralises, not so much on guilt, as on the judgment that overtakes it—identifies himself with the man so closely as to lose sight of the villain—and muses on the awful realities of the invisible, rather than upon the dark record of time.

"Ay, but to die, and go we know not where;
To lie in cold obstruction and to rot;
This sensible warm motion to become
A kneaded clod: and the de-lighted spirit
To bathe in fiery floods, or to reside
In thrilling regions of thick-ribbed ice;
To be imprison'd in the viewless winds,
And blown with restless violence round about
The pendent world; or to be worse than worst
Of those, that lawless and incertain thoughts
Imagine howling!—'tis too horrible!"

The recent instances of capital punishment, we must say, have not been of a kind to extinguish "maudlin sympathy." Even where guilt has been undoubted and confessed, the moral of a public execution has not been very impressively displayed. A crowd, made up of the most worthless scum of the metropolis—men and women collected together to witness the exit from life of a fellow-immortal, with much the same feeling as they would look upon a pantomime—jesting, trading, pilfering, at the very foot of the scaffold—laughter, ribaldry, and noise—do

nothing to dignify the stern vengeance of the law. As monitory example, the spectacle is anything but successful. It neither convinces nor appals. It does nothing to enhance the vulgar estimate of the value of human life—but it is well calculated to lower it. The salutary terror which it is believed to inspire is nowhere evident. It hardens every heart which it fails to subdue. It invests with a halo of heroism the ruffian who bravely meets his fate—and in vicious minds, the minds on whom the solemn scene is intended to tell for the advantage of society, it nerves resolution against the fancied cowardice of remorse.

But where, as in the case of Brian Seery, the unhappy victim of law at Mullingar, the guilt is doubtful—where a man is sent out of the world protesting before God that he had neither act, hand, part, nor knowledge, in the crime for which he is going to die—where sufficient uncertainty prevails upon which to hang a possibility of innocence, and execution is delayed for an hour by the anxious hope of officials to receive a reprieve—who can expect other than that pity should drown indignation, and that sympathy for the sufferer should displace all feelings of detestation for the crime. From such heart-rending sights men go home and talk of judicial murder. Their susceptibilities may all be maudlin—but the fact still remains, that life has been solemnly put out, with no effect whatever but that of bringing law into general disrepute.

See how the folly brings with it its own punishment. The severity, instead of surrounding life with all but impassable barriers, actually throws down such as already exist. Captain Johnstone is tried in London for murders the most atrocious committed on the high seas, and he is acquitted on the ground of insanity. Far be it from us to impugn the motives of the jury. They gave their verdict, we cannot doubt, conscientiously—but the verdict certainly was such as to suggest to every man disposed to ruffianism, that when he ventures upon imbruing his hands in blood, the deeper the stains he acquires the more probable will be his escape. Would that verdict have been given had death-punishments been abolished? How often is the wish father of the thought! How unconsciously but surely do our sympathies sway our judgment! Even when one death may perchance save a thousand lives, no man of real feeling but must hesitate to give his vote for a certain against a contingent destruction.

Abolish capital punishments, and you put an end to "maudlin sympathy."

THE TWO BONDS OF UNION.—A DISCOVERY!

"UNION," saith the old adage, "is strength"—at the utterance of which the world and his wife bow their heads to its truth, and yield unequivocal assent. We shall not question the accuracy of their decision. Union is strength, so that it be of the right sort. We think, however, that the maxim may be, like many others, very ill-used. We have frequently seen it inscribed upon a semblance—a mere phantasm—when the reality of union had no existence, and when consequently there was the inherence of no strength. We could see in appearance the arch, but the key-stone was wanting, and it was only necessary that a little weight should cross it, to make it crack and shiver, and ultimately fall in ruin beneath the waters of universal contempt!

What a glorious event will that be—the realisation of the union, the *bona fide*, unmistakable union of all the brotherhood of man. In our night visions, and in our day dreams, we have seen it in its possibility, in its probability; and, however remotely in the distance, in all its certainty. We believe it is coming, though slowly; and with new tariffs and other things for stults, we are taking a stride or two to meet it. To be such a *bona fide* union, however, it must be a union of hearts, sympathies, and interests, and all obstacles that prevent the contact of these attractive influences must be removed out of the way. The loadstone will attract the iron, but if wood or coal intervene they can never unite.

Countries that have colonial dependencies have been taught so many lessons, that they are becoming alive to these truths. And Governments, some few, are getting wise enough to see that people are not always the best behaved, the most happy, or the most to be depended upon in cases of emergency, when ruled with a rod of iron; that they are not certain to be the most prosperous nations, whose energies are most cramped by wicked and foolish restrictions, and whose general interests are sacrificed by class legislation. Rulers are beginning to learn, that there are other and better bonds of union than chains, of whatever metal their links may be made, and that parchment, however beautifully it may be illuminated, and however German the text may be, is not all that is required to bind one country to another.

Our own country and Ireland is a case in point. The latter was said to be Sir Robert Peel's chief difficulty. Why? Because he, being (it was thought) a Tory, must govern it on Tory principles, and Tory principles are the principles of tyrannical rule, and tyrannical rule is antagonistic to Irish, as it is to all human, feeling. But Sir Robert has proved that he is not, in the genuine old sense of the term, a Tory, or he would never have advocated free-trade, to say nothing of other measures. Those, therefore, who are still Tories, and who—thinking he was, bore him on their shoulders into office—are jealous for the future, lest he place his ruthless hand on some other dearly-cherished still-existing Conservative institutions. Their zeal for the preservation of these makes

them marvellously blind and pig-headed. They have not got sense enough to hide their ignorance and absurdities under quiet seats on the parliamentary benches. They will get up and speak (the small fry on the Conservative side), if it be only to talk nonsense. It would be better for themselves and their cause if they would hold their tongues—it is better for us and the cause of justice as it is; inasmuch as with little plausibility, and less discretion, they set forth their arguments in their true colours. We can understand them.

Now the Conservatives are as anxious as other people (perhaps, more so than many) that Ireland should remain united to Great Britain. They regard the cry for a Repeal of the Union as worse than treason—as something amounting to sacrilege—and as having no excuse in reason or in real wrongs. Well, some who think differently say—the Irish themselves say—The Union is only a parchment union, having no foundation in reciprocity of interests. This is, perhaps, an exaggerated view of that side of the question; but that the mass of the people are in a state of utter wretchedness, is indisputable, and that the Union is not, and never has been, what it ought to be, is equally true. But very astonishing are modern Conservative discoveries!

Listen now, Repealers, listen everybody, to the St. Stephen's oracle! "There were two great bonds of union between England and Ireland—one was the transfer of Irish agricultural produce to England, the other was the Protestant church." Thus has a certain knight delivered himself during the corn-law debate of a piece of information for which the people of the two countries cannot be too grateful! They would never have thought of it but for Sir J. Walsh.

There are two bonds of union. Are there? what is the first? "The transfer of Irish agricultural produce to England," a bond of union no doubt very pretty to look at, and one that would be very good, in fact, if the Irish first ate as much as they required themselves, and then sent us the surplus; but a very questionable bond of union, when the Irish have to dig, and labour, and sweat to grow food, and then send it out of the country without being able to taste a grain of it—a very questionable bond of union, indeed, when they who work for it are obliged to live in cabins of mud, sleep with their pigs, and exist on bad potatoes. Well, and what, according to Sir J. Walsh, is bond of union number two? The other "great bond of union," says he, "is the Protestant church!" A beautiful bond of union, is it not, ye seven million Roman Catholic sons of Erin? The Protestant church in Ireland a bond of union! Aye, truly! a bond of union in the same sense that a hempen cord may be a bond of union between a man and the gallows! We leave our readers to their own reflections, but we should like to see some other than these "two great bonds of union between England and Ireland."

LEGISLATIVE INTERFERENCE WITH LABOUR.

(From the Economist.)

Those manufacturers who propose to compromise the matter by acceding to an Eleven Hours Bill, we hold to be guilty of a sad mistake. It appears that their reason for preferring eleven hours by law, to eleven hours by agreement, with their workpeople is, that in the latter case some mills will work eleven, and some will work twelve hours, and that in the race of competition the latter will be placed at a disadvantage. This result is to be expected, certainly, and we think it is to be wished also. Those manufacturers who are careful for the welfare of their people, and who think the plan a safer one, will work eleven hours. The rest will work twelve, as now. If the people really wish for shorter hours, when combined, as they must be, with somewhat diminished earnings (as many of the more respectable do), they will prefer the eleven hour mills, will flock to them, and by giving them a choice of hands, and a better class of hands, ensure them a manifest advantage which will compensate for their shorter hours, and lead to an ultimate adoption of their example. If, on the contrary, it should be found that the operatives prefer the mills where there are longer hours of work and higher wages, it will show that they do not desire, and are not yet in a condition to appreciate the benefit of, increased leisure, and that the present demand for shorter hours is, as we have said, partial and artificial. And if the mills which work eleven hours should find their cost of production so increased by the change as to be unable to compete on equal terms with those which still work twelve hours, this will clearly show that the reduction is both unappreciated by the people, and unsafe for the country; if they do not find their cost of production so increased, this will show that their plan is a sound one, that their example will be followed, and that no legislation is needed to enforce it. It does appear to us, that if any reasoning is irrefragable, it is this.

The result of such a voluntary reduction to eleven hours, on the part of many manufacturers, would, as we think, be desirable and beneficial in the extreme. There would be no risk in it, because the real operation of the change would be at once perceived, and the continuance, or the abandonment of it, would follow of itself. If it answered—as we believe it might, by a mutual arrangement between masters and men (on the basis of preventing an increase in the cost of production)—we should then have this "devoutly-to-be-wished-for consummation"—two classes of factories, one composed of benevolent employers, and of superiorly educated operatives, willing to purchase leisure and the pleasure of working for good masters, by the sacrifice of a portion of their earnings—enough being still left to ensure, to men of such a character, competence and comfort; and the other composed of men unable to perceive the advantage of leisure, or unwilling to pay for it, and preferring extra toil for the sake of extra wages. The social and moral superiority of the former class would soon make itself seen and felt; and as education spread, and living became cheaper, the second class would gradually die out and be absorbed. The great object would be thus obtained, without legislative interference—without the violation of the great principles of economic and social policy—and without incurring a risk, which no man, who could perceive it, would dare to encounter.

FOREIGN INTELLIGENCE.

INDIA.

The Indian overland mail, by way of Marseilles, was received in London on Friday. It had been delayed by some accident to the Iberia steamer, on the way from Alexandria to Malta. The accounts are, upon the whole, mere amplifications of those already received by way of Trieste, without any additional facts; and the mail conveys no letters or despatches from the Governor-general; but the *Times* of Saturday morning publishes, exclusively, the following summary, derived from "unquestionable authority":—

The advanced guard of the British army was attacked, on the evening of the 18th of December, by the Sikh troops. The enemy was repulsed, and driven back for upwards of three miles, with the loss of seventeen pieces of cannon. This affair occurred at Moodkee, a place about twenty-two miles to the north-east of Ferozepore. The next day the British troops advanced towards Ferozepore; and, having opened a communication with Sir John Littler, who commanded at that post, and having been joined by the corps under that officer, attacked the enemy's entrenched position, at four o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st. The first line of intrenchments was carried; but the night was so dark that further operations were suspended. At daylight on the 22nd, the second line of intrenchments was attacked, and all the enemy's defences were, in half an hour, taken in reverse, and the guns captured. On the afternoon of the 22nd the enemy advanced with their infantry, and hordes of camels carrying swivels, for the purpose of retaking the guns they had previously lost. All the attacks, however, which they made were repulsed; and after a cannonade which had no result they withdrew, and retired to a place called Sultankhanwalla, about ten miles from Ferozepore, where they had still some heavy artillery. The British army would be joined by two battalions of native infantry, which were not in the previous actions; and the enemy's position at Sultankhanwalla was to be attacked on the 24th. No accounts have been received of the specific loss on either side, nor is the name of any officer mentioned. The captured guns amounted to sixty-five counted, and there were some more in a village on the British right.

UNITED STATES.

The *Hibernia* arrived at Liverpool on Saturday, after a tempestuous passage, and has brought intelligence from Boston to the 1st inst. These advices confirm the pacific tendency of those previously received.

The proceedings of Congress with regard to the Oregon question are interesting. Resolutions had been introduced by the moderate party in both Houses favourable to submitting the dispute to arbitration in the last resort. An attempt to make the Navy Bill bear upon the notice question had failed in the Senate. The discussion in the lower House still continued, but without eliciting any new argument.

A highly interesting debate had taken place in the Senate on Mr. Allen's motion, protesting against foreign interference in the affairs of the independent republics of the west. In this instance Mr. Calhoun again, though unsuccessfully, exerted his influence to prevent the reference of the resolutions to the Committee on Foreign Affairs.

Advices received from England relative to the recent Ministerial changes had created much excitement. The arrival of the packet ship *Liberty*, conveying information of the accession of Lord John Russell to power, had alarmed politicians, lest the Oregon question should fall into the hands of Lord Palmerston; these alarms were dissipated, however, on the subsequent receipt of advices, per *Hibernia*, of Sir R. Peel's resumption of office. The article of the *Times* of the 3rd of January upon the Oregon question had also attracted great and unusual attention in and out of Congress, and was viewed as expressing the sentiments alike of the British Government and of the British people. The *Washington Union* thus alludes to it:—

We call attention to the wholly new proposal which the London *Times* now calls upon the British Ministry to make to our Government. It would not be unreasonable to hope that, on such a proposal, carried out in the spirit of further compromise to the more ample recognition of our just claims, further negotiation might yet build a peaceful monument to the enlightened moderation and justice of two great nations. We say this, of course, in view of the fact, that the navigation of the Columbia by Great Britain could, in the present state of the question, be hardly urged with seriousness by the British Government.

The official character of these remarks are subsequently denied in the Senate, by Mr. Hannegan. The public have accepted them as such.

The New York *Courier and Inquirer* supports the concession to Great Britain of the free navigation of the Columbia, in order to obtain grounds upon which to demand, in return, the free navigation of the St. Lawrence.

Earl Grey, as having overthrown Lord J. Russell's attempt to form a Cabinet, by his objection to Lord Palmerston as Foreign Secretary, is highly eulogised in the American journals, which institute comparisons of the similarity of the position with that assumed by Mr. Calhoun.

Mexican affairs attracted much attention. The journals now received call upon the Executive to demand from Mexico that the nature of the existing international relations, whether those of peace or war, be at once defined; if peaceful, that then the Mexican Government receive an American Minister; if warlike, that then the United States should proceed immediately to reprisals. It was announced that orders had been despatched to assemble the home squadron in the Gulf of Mexico.

The *Union* also notices a rumour current, that it was the intention of Mexico and France to put a French prince on the throne of Mexico, and makes upon it the following comment:—

We will not undertake to say there is no truth in this rumour, which is not altogether new; but certain it is, that we are not advised of there being any foundation for it in the official despatches. Mexico is apparently in a state of transition; and it becomes the United States to keep watch and ward over her revolutions, as well as the maintenance of our own rights.

This rumour was very generally current; and the assembling of a large Spanish fleet at Havannah was received as confirmatory of the suspected interference.

The oft-renewed rumour of contemplated cabinet

changes—the elevation of Mr. Buchanan, the secretary of state, to the supreme bench—were again in current circulation.

The accounts from Canada are unimportant. The journals continue to note warlike preparations along the frontiers, and to discuss the aspect of the Oregon question. A meeting held at Montreal had passed resolutions inviting the northern members of the American United States to separate from the slave states, and join Canada. The Canadians viewed with some little alarm the near approach of a free trade in corn.

Mexican accounts to the 30th December had been received. They have, however, been anticipated by the *Times* correspondence. The *Vera Cruzano* of the 20th December says, that it learns by letters of responsible persons from Mexico, that the Cabinet had mortgaged to England the department of Yucatan, on condition that she would pay its immense debt.

The *Morning Chronicle*, with creditable enterprise, lately deputed a gentleman to Washington from their establishment specially to communicate with them during the discussions on the Oregon question and the tariff. His first communication is dated Washington, Jan. 30, and contains much interesting information. He thus describes the effect produced upon the country by the prospect of war at no distant date:—

With such a conviction resting upon the public mind, and such prospects apparently before the country, its commercial operations began sensibly to diminish, and its industrial energies to droop. Business was languid, the money market was depressed, and mercantile and financial transactions assumed that unsettled appearance which betokens the apprehension of a calamitous crisis. Parties who had hitherto been indifferent as to the result of the territorial dispute, which threatened the amicable relations of the two countries, and many who had contributed to give strength and impetus to the war feeling which it here produced, began to repent bitterly; the former their indifference, the latter their indiscretion.

The reception of the pacific news by the *Hibernia*:—

On the arrival of the steamer, the impression created at Boston by the pacific character of the news was of the most lively and satisfactory description. In the streets and in the places of public resort little else was to be heard but mutual congratulations upon the prospect of continued peace with England. Every one was taken by surprise, and every one was delighted. Scarcely an hour had elapsed from the time when the steamer first touched the wharf before all the Boston papers had issued their "extras," announcing, with exultation, the newly-arrived "pacific intelligence" from Europe. I was prepared for some diversity of sentiment on leaving the New England states, and approaching some of the strongholds of the democratic party; but during my progress to New York, which was greatly protracted by the severity of the season, I witnessed the exhibition of but one feeling, that of unqualified satisfaction at the unexpected tenor of the European news. New York, notwithstanding her democratic majority for Mr. Polk, pledged as he was at the time of his election to an aggressive policy, both as regarded Texas and Oregon, felt in unison with Boston, and every commercial capital in the Union has, by this time, echoed and re-echoed the same feeling. Never was there a better illustration afforded than this of the pacific tendencies of commerce. Whatever divisions might have characterised them before, ere yet the dispute had assumed a very serious aspect, the commercial classes here are now, without distinction of party, in favour of such concessions as will secure the continuance of an honourable peace. It is now the general belief, that it will be extremely difficult again to involve any section of the trading and mercantile classes in the war mania of the west.

The Oregon question has all along been a party one, and now the democratic leaders are brought to a point, which presents them the alternative of either retracing their steps at their peril, or assuming the responsibilities of a foreign war, which national disasters would soon render odious and unpopular:—

The position of the party is now rendered difficult and awkward. They would rejoice at a favourable opportunity for retreat—a disposition which will lead them to the adoption of any compromise which they can prevail upon their party to accept. As far as can be gathered from present indications, the feeling of this country is decidedly against it. Should the current be turned, should the war party, which is yet powerful and organised, again assume the ascendant amongst the people, this disastrous result will emanate from Washington, where continued exhibitions of legislative violence and ill-will may counteract all the good effects which the recent intelligence from England has produced. . . . That war was never seriously contemplated on this side the Atlantic is obvious, from the very little preparation which has as yet been made for such an event. Now that there is a possibility of their being unwittingly led into it, there is some talk of preparing for the contingency. The United States possess but little means of carrying on anything like an offensive war with a naval power like Great Britain, and their coast defences are avowedly insufficient for the protection of the populations on the seaboard, and the great emporia of their commerce. Of this fact, perhaps, none are more aware than are the naval officers of the United States.

The writer thinks that Mr. Ingersall's resolution for giving the year's notice, will pass the House of Representatives, but not the Senate, and even should the Senate concur in the resolution of the sister house, the probabilities of a warlike solution to the present controversy are by no means increased. "If the American Government approach the final settlement of the question in the proper tone and temper, which there is now every likelihood that it will do, the giving of the year's notice by either party will only expedite the attainment of a pacific and permanent arrangement." With regard to the tariff the writer says:—

The present would seem to be a favourable time for attempting a change in the customs' regulations of the Union, but opinion here is very much divided as to the probable result of such an attempt. Notwithstanding its apparent strength, the Government will have a great many difficulties to contend with in furthering its views, as a not inconsiderable section of its own party will oppose any measure for the lowering of the tariff. . . . Both parties have their grounds for hope, both their causes for despondency. The measure, if successful, however, will not probably be of that large and comprehensive character which the Free-traders of England would wish it to be. The free-trade party here are only Free-traders by comparison. They are for protection as far as is compatible with the raising of a revenue.

The Philadelphia correspondent of the *Chronicle* has the following important scrap of information:—

But the important feature in this movement is, the separation of Mr. Benton, one of the most powerful and distinguished democratic leaders in the Union, from the ultra, or war party. He goes for the whole of Oregon, if possible; but to be obtained by peace, reasoning, and diplomacy.

Thus it is evident, that Mr. Calhoun, the eminent southern democratic senator, and Mr. Benton, the great western (Missouri) democratic senator, are both adverse to measures of a warlike tendency!

I consider this new development in the Oregon and war questions in the Senate to be of the utmost moment—to be nothing less than the guarantee of peace! . . . One friend says:—"The imbroglio with Mexico has made a great difference in the aspect of the Oregon question at Washington. The leaders of the violent party are not unlikely to get into what in England is called Schedule A."

Our own correspondent sends the following items of American news:—

For general intelligence I must refer you mainly to the papers. The Texas infamy, as you will have learned before this, is consummated. Mr. Torrey is still confined in the Maryland Penitentiary, on charge of helping men to escape from slavery to freedom. A proposition has just been submitted to the legislature of that state, to prosecute the "Baltimore Saturday Visitor," as an incendiary publication. It is a literary and common family newspaper, but open to anti-slavery articles. Its editor was formerly a slave-holder, but is now, in his general views and feelings, an anti-slavery man, though not technically an immediate abolitionist, or identified with those that are. C. M. Clay's "True American" is resumed, and he is as determined as ever. The south are afraid of a war with England. It would be death to the "peculiar institutions;" and as the slave power controls still our national policy, we shall have no war with you about Oregon. Indiana, you are aware, has been one of our repudiating states. The present amount of her indebtedness, principal and interest, is about sixteen millions of dollars. A bill has just passed both branches of the legislature and become a law, uniting a composition of interest with a system of taxation, by a mortgage upon property of the state for the payment of such interest, seems to place her among the list of honest and paying debtors. Taxation is to provide for the principal and interest of half the debt, and for the other half, the act mortgages, to certain trustees, the Wabash and Erie canal, they engaging to finish the canal in five years, and taking for that purpose all the lands appropriated by Congress therefor. The news of the revolution in Mexico, mainly from dissatisfaction with the course of the Mexican Government towards our own, looks a little stormy.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

THE STATE OF GERMANY.—The *Times*' correspondent at Berlin writes as follows:—"The most distressing accounts reach us from every part of the monarchy. The districts on the Oder are again threatened with inundations, which, if added to the already deeply-felt and general scarcity, place a prospect of the utmost wretchedness before the miserable inhabitants. And while these alarming prospects frown upon us from the north, the accounts from the Rhine give the most heart-rending description of the state of destitution to which the poor are there reduced; and, although full justice is done to the active zeal with which both civil authorities and voluntary associations are exerting themselves to mitigate the evil, all accounts agree in depicting it as beyond the power of any local arrangements to do more than palliate, without a hope of removing, the suffering. The interference of the state is therefore confidently expected, and that by opening the magazines (as in 1842) the dire calamity of absolute want may be averted."

From the Russian frontier, we hear from St. Petersburg, that a large proportion of the Protestant nobility of the province of Liffand have petitioned the Russian Government to purchase their estates and permit them to emigrate to Germany.

DEATH OF BARON BULOW.—A letter from Berlin announces the death of Baron de Bulow, ex-Minister of State. A malady, which he had contracted of late years, from excessive application to business, and which forced him to withdraw from public affairs sooner than his time of life would seem to demand, was the cause of his death.

THE WAR IN THE CAUCASUS.—The Russians are adopting a new system of tactics against the Circassians, by burning their forests. This plan has caused much distress to the inhabitants of the Caucasus.

AFFAIRS OF THE LEBANON.—Our Beyrout correspondent writes, on the 26th ult., that the affairs of Lebanon were at last likely to be satisfactorily arranged. The boundary line between the territories of the Christian and Druse Caimacans had been fixed, after many difficulties. The new Commissioner of the Porte, Emin Pacha, had arrived at Beyrout with instructions, said to be of the most conciliatory character.—*Times*.

A MINISTER'S PROPHECY ON THE FATE OF THE MINISTERIAL MEASURE.—But I tell you that no public result can arise from my defeat. If you succeed in returning Mr. Hildyard, and ousting me, the question will be settled equally as it will be now. No public object, I tell you again, can be gained by my defeat. The power of inflicting vengeance is in your hands, but I tell you with sincerity again, that you will attain no public object whatever; and that the measures of the Government are as certain to be carried as that the sun would set this evening [cheers]. No human power can stay them. They will be carried in the House of Commons by a majority of not less than 100; they will receive the sanction of the peers (a voice, "Will they all go round too?"); and I need not say, that our gracious Sovereign will signify her assent to them [cheers]. I say they must be carried. You might as well attempt to stay the wind with a feather—you might as well think to stop the course of the river that flows round your town with the puny hand of an infant—as attempt to prevent the passing of these measures by rejecting so humble an individual as myself.—Lord Lincoln in South Notts.

SIR R. PEEL was again cupped on Friday previous to his going to the House of Commons.—*Daily News*.

MRS. ELLEN BAXTER, a lady of ninety, has lost her life from falling into the cellar of a public-house in Marylebone, the door of which stood open.

THE SHORT-TIME MOVEMENT.—The adjourned meeting of cotton spinners was held at the offices of Messrs. Joseph and William Heron, solicitors to the association, on Saturday, and it was numerously attended. Considerable difference of opinion prevailed with respect to the subject which had been under consideration on the preceding Tuesday, viz., the reduction of the hours of factory labour from twelve to eleven hours, upon the passing of Sir Robert Peel's proposed tariff; and, after some discussion, it was agreed that Lord Ashley's bill should be strenuously opposed, and that the consideration of the proposal for working eleven hours should be postponed until after the passing of Sir R. Peel's measure.—The millowners and manufacturers of Halifax have adopted a number of resolutions strongly protesting against any further legislative interference whatever between masters and those employed under them, asserting, that a limitation of factory labour not only tended to limit adult labour, but wages also to the same extent; that such a measure would seriously tend to cripple the trade of the district as well, and that all further alteration in the hours of work ought to be left between the employers and those employed, and to be settled by them.

MR. VINCENT'S TOUR IN SCOTLAND.—Mr. Vincent has visited Peebles, Johnston, the Vale of Leven, and Calton, at each of which places he has addressed large and enthusiastic meetings. At Ayr, on Thursday and Friday last, he gave two lectures in the Theatre royal. Major Maxwell Shaw, of the Indian army, in the chair. The boxes were densely crowded by the more influential classes; and the pit, galleries and stage, were so crowded, that the door had to be closed to keep out the people. The admission was by ticket. At Haddington, the inhabitants gave him a *soirée* in the Assembly-rooms, which were crowded. Mr. Patterson, Secession minister, in the chair. Mr. Thompson, Independent minister; Mr. Hogg, Secession minister; Mr. White, Secession minister, were also present. The proceedings went off with much enthusiasm; and a congratulatory address to Mr. Vincent was given by the Chairman. At Edinburgh, last Wednesday, a crowded meeting was held in Dr. Ritchie's church,—John Dunlop, Esq., of Brockloch, in the chair,—to petition for a free pardon for John Frost and his friends. The meeting was a very influential one. It was addressed by John Dunlop, Esq., Dr. Ritchie, Mr. Stuart, Mr. Vincent, and others. The irregularity of the proceedings at Mr. Frost's trial was clearly set forth; and Mr. Vincent produced a great impression in Mr. Frost's favour, by the many interesting statements he brought forward. There appears to be a well-grounded hope, that Mr. Frost and his friends will soon receive a pardon from the present Government.

SHOCKING ACCIDENT.—Last Sunday fortnight, a most distressing accident occurred in the parish church of Llanddulas, in Wales. We have gathered the following particulars from *Yr Amseran*. After reading the church service, commonly called Liturgy, the clergyman advanced to the altar table as usual. After a short interval, he was observed whispering some important communication to the warden, who did the same to the clerk. Immediately afterwards, the clerk proceeded to the doors of the church, which he opened with great solemnity, and then beckoned with his finger to the congregation to rise and depart. His extraordinary demeanour threw the audience to intense excitement. Seeing the consternation which prevailed, the warden explained to some of the most terrified, that the worthy clergyman had been so unfortunate as to leave his sermon behind him in the house; in consequence of which, he found himself disabled to proceed, and which rendered it necessary for the congregation to depart about ten minutes earlier than usual. We believe that both the clergyman and his audience are considered out of danger.

BUILDING SOCIETIES.—We have of late had our attention directed to the importance of these associations. Their number is daily increasing, and the prospects they hold out of enabling a man, by a few years' economy, to become his own landlord, seems a guarantee for their continued popularity. This circumstance, however, renders it of the utmost importance, that all persons contemplating connexion with them should satisfy themselves of the soundness of the respective principles upon which they may be founded. We have reason to believe that there is much cause for caution on this point, many associations having been advertised, offering such advantages to the *lenders* as are wholly inconsistent with the interests of the *borrowers*. The prospectuses of several of these societies have, from time to time, appeared in our advertising columns, including those of the "London and Provincial," the "United Kingdom, The West London," and the "Islington Investment Association." Their respectability is ensured by the high standing and character of many of the parties acting as their officers—their stability can only be ascertained by an accurate examination of the principles upon which they are based. We heartily approve of the objects contemplated by their promoters; and several instances are known to us, in which the most desirable results have ensued from the assistance they have rendered to the poor, but industrious artisan. The extensive popularity which they have obtained, forms one of the most striking features of the day. Every organisation of any importance has now an "investment association" connected with it, from the Anti-corn-law League down to Dissenting congregations and Teetotal societies; and we hope the fact augurs well for the future independence of the masses, politically and socially. In connexion with this subject, two excellent pamphlets have been published, which we recommend to the serious perusal of all interested in the subject, entitled, "The Fallacies of Building Societies," and "Every Man his own Landlord."

The children of the Honourable A. Ellis, residing at Bognor, with a governess and two maids, have been poisoned by eating of blanchmange, which had been coloured green with a verdigris powder, sold by a pastrycook in London for such use! Fortunately, the sufferers were deterred from eating much of the confection by its bad taste; some, however, are still unwell from its effects.

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

THE BUCKINGHAM ELECTION FARCE.—The Marquis of Chandos, son and heir of the Duke of Buckingham, was elected on Wednesday to succeed Sir T. Fremantle. The usual claptraps were resorted to. "Chandos and the Protestant Religion," "Queen, Constitution, and Chandos," "Chandos, the Farmer's Friend," and kindred mottoes, were inscribed on Young Hopeful's banners. His political godfather, Mr. W. T. Eyre, pretended that he had been dragged to the hustings by the electors, an unwilling candidate, but had overcome his "innate modesty," in deference to their desires! Mr. W. H. French, the Duke's ironmonger, and a Dissenter to boot, who seconded the nomination, confessed that "he did not much understand the corn-law question, BUT HE KNEW ON WHICH SIDE HIS BREAD WAS BUTTERED." This is "letting the cat out of the bag" with a vengeance. The Marquis returned thanks to his constituents in a brief speech, in which he announced his determination to proceed to the House without delay, and record his first vote in favour of protection. This young gentleman's qualifications to legislate for this great country may be gathered from the following extract from his election speech:—

[It was, I can assure you, my wish and my intention, also I might say [applause] I desired to have remained as a private individual in your neighbourhood, not because, I can assure you, I wish to evade the trouble of political life, but because I thought that at some future time, if not, gentlemen, at present, I could not undertake political life [commotion] but I am persuaded my course should open with great rays [a pause] in order to stem the current of events at the present crisis [loud cheers].

RUTLANDSHIRE ELECTION.—UNEXPECTED RETURN OF MR. FINCH.—The seat vacated by the retirement of the Hon. W. Dawney, was on Saturday conferred upon George Finch, Esq., without opposition. Mr. Finch is a Conservative, a Protectionist, and a violent opponent of the Maynooth grant (respecting which he last year agitated this country to some extent), and formerly one or two sessions sat in Parliament as the Marquis of Exeter's nominee for the borough of Stamford. Some of the most active members of the Agricultural Society, determined that if Mr. Noel did not arrive in time to appear on the hustings, they would have another candidate; and the members of the Gainsborough family, feeling it impolitic to resist such a determination, consented to the nomination of Mr. Finch.

REPRESENTATION OF LEICESTER.—A requisition to George Thompson, Esq., is now in course of signature, and likely to be very numerous. We should be glad to see Mr. Thompson in Parliament; but from a statement in the *Nonconformist*, it appears probable he will be put up for the Tower Hamlets, London; so that his coming to Leicester is doubtful. Many of the electors have also expressed a wish that Joseph Whetstone, Esq., should be again solicited to come forward in conjunction with Mr. Biggs, now that Mr. Wynn Ellis has decided upon not coming again; while others have named Mr. John Ellis, and we hear that he will be waited upon or consulted on the subject.—*Leicester Mercury*.

JOHN BOWEN, Esq., M.P. for South Durham, has just issued an address to his constituents on the present position of affairs, and offering to resign his trust. It is rumoured that Mr. Henry Pease is prepared to come forward for this division on the free-trade interest whenever an opportunity shall arise.

STAMFORD.—A requisition, or "remonstrance," signed by about forty inhabitants of Stamford, has this week been sent to Sir George Clerk, one of the members of the borough, on the subject of the Ministerial proposition for the repeal of the corn-laws. The paper was privately taken round for signature by the Marquis of Exeter's electioneering agent. We have heard that Sir G. Clerk has returned an answer to the communication, reminding the subscribers to the document that he was re-elected last year, when he gave no pledge as to what would be his future conduct on the corn question.—*Stamford Mercury*.

EAST GLOUCESTERSHIRE.—Mr. Charteris has, according to his promise, complied with the request of his constituents, and resigned his seat for East Gloucestershire. He stands again, however, in opposition to Lord Worcester, the Protectionist candidate.

DORSETSHIRE.—In Dorsetshire, Messrs. Floyer and Seymour have accepted the invitation of the Protectionists, and the clergy have elicited from their declarations as adverse to the ecclesiastical policy of Ministers as to their commercial measures. It is reported that both Mr. Sturt and Lord Ashley will be raised to the peerage. For the re-election of the former no efforts appear to be made, but Lord Ashley's friends are actively canvassing for his lordship. Lord Ashley has announced to the electors of the county, that, being unable to support the expenses of an election, it is not his intention, in the event of his return being opposed, to ask for a poll. A document expressive of confidence in the fitness of the new candidates to represent the interest of the county, is said to have received the signature of 2,000 electors.

WESTMINSTER.—A writ has been issued for the election of a member to supply the vacancy caused by the appointment of Capt. Rous as a Lord of the Admiralty. At a large meeting of the Westminster Reform Society, on Wednesday evening, it was resolved to nominate General Sir De Lacy Evans, their former member, in opposition to the gallant Captain, and the General acceded to the request. On Friday evening there was a meeting of the electors, at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, to promote his return. He said he would vote for an immediate repeal of the corn-laws, an extension of the suffrage, and short Parliaments. He is supported by a large number of the Whig aristocracy and Radical M.P.'s. On Saturday, there was another meeting of his supporters at Willis's Rooms, and on Monday night, a third meeting at Pimlico. Mr. Walter, of the *Times*, has promised General Evans all the support in his power. There is, therefore, little doubt that Captain Rous will be ejected from his present seat. The polling takes place this morning.

REPRESENTATION OF THE TOWER HAMLETS.—A meeting of electors, convened by circular, was held on Wednesday last, at the George Tavern, Commercial-road, when it was unanimously resolved, that the following requisition to Lawrence Heyworth, inviting him to contest the borough at the next election, be prepared and placed for signature in the different districts of the Hamlets, viz.:—

We, the undersigned electors of the borough of the Tower Hamlets, believing that you fully appreciate anti-state-church, complete suffrage, and free-trade principles, and that you would be prepared, if elected, to urge them upon the attention of the Legislature; respectfully request you will allow yourself to be placed in nomination at the next election of members, to serve in the Commons' House of Parliament; and we pledge ourselves, should you consent to become a candidate, to vote for you, and to use every effort in our power to secure your triumphant return.

It was also resolved at the same time, that a similar requisition should be prepared, inviting George Thompson, Esq., to contest the borough with L. Heyworth, in opposition to the present members. The Tower Hamlets' Electoral Committee are now occupied in carrying into effect these resolutions.

NEWARK AND SOUTH NOTTS.—In my last communication, I informed you that Lord John Manners had written to his constituents, requesting an expression of opinion on the great measure now before the country. The manner in which the affair was disposed of, shows how little regard is paid to the opinions of the electors. Eight or nine gentlemen met together, and wrote a letter to his lordship, assuring him that the majority of his constituents were opposed to Sir Robert Peel's measure, and wishing him to vote against it. This he has agreed to do, and thus his mock appeal to the whole body of electors has ended in smoke. We have now another matter in hand. Newark is the head quarters for South Notts, and we are looking forward with no small anxiety to the issue of the approaching struggle between the Government and monopoly. The Earl of Lincoln addressed a large body of farmers in the market-place on Wednesday last. His speech, which was manly and liberal, was listened to with attention and loudly cheered. Unlike his father he is willing to be borne onward by the tide of public opinion, and we do not despair of seeing him the advocate of equal political rights as well as commercial freedom. Like many others of his class he has begun to advance, and he will yet go to lengths which he now probably contemplates with alarm. We have seen of late some strange and sudden conversions to the cause of free-trade. Several country gentlemen in the neighbourhood, who have hitherto strongly opposed Liberal principles, are now zealously supporting Lord Lincoln, and every Tory lawyer in the town, including the Duke of Newcastle's agent, is canvassing in his interest. One individual of considerable influence, who moved a resolution at the late Protection meeting, was, on Wednesday last (only a fortnight after), actively soliciting votes for his lordship, in fact, there is not a single Conservative lawyer left for Hillyard, and he is forced to put up with a private gentleman for his agent. The Tories are now at war among themselves: like the Midianites, every man's sword is turned against his fellow. It is impossible to foretell the result of this contest, spread as it is over a widely extended constituency, blinded by ignorance, prejudice, and self-interest, and subject to landlord influences. Newark contains about 300 votes, and quite four-fifths will be given to Lord Lincoln, but the Protectionists have a great advantage over us, there is charm in the very word "Protection," and the cry which they are raising of "Ruin to the farmers"—"Peculiar burdens"—"Land going out of cultivation;" and with a large class, "Maynooth," which Lord Lincoln supported, have a powerful influence on tenant-farmers, and will go far towards turning the scale in Mr. Hill yard's favour. The nomination takes place on Saturday next. I will send you a brief account of our proceedings and prospects.—*From our Correspondent*.

SOUTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE.—The acceptance by Lord Lincoln of the office of Secretary for Ireland, has created a vacancy in the representation of this division of the county. His lordship has offered himself for re-election, and, being a supporter of the Ministerial measures, is, of course, opposed by the Protectionists. The most active exertions are making by the friends of the Earl of Lincoln, and the Free-traders of Nottingham, to secure the return of the noble Earl to Parliament.—Mr. T. B. T. Hildyard, of Flintham-hall, has been put forward by the Protectionists. The nomination is fixed for Saturday next, and the polling for the following Tuesday and Wednesday. Lord Lincoln is very active in his exertions to convince his agricultural constituents of the benefits of free-trade, and has attended large meetings at Newark and Nottingham. The landlord interest is for the most part opposed to him, and his re-election is exceedingly doubtful. The Protectionists are confident of the return of Mr. Hildyard. Lord Lincoln is strongly opposed by his father, the Duke of Newcastle.

IN NORTH NOTTINGHAMSHIRE, also, there is a vacancy in the representation, caused by the death of Mr. Gally Knight. Lord H. Bentinck has announced himself as a candidate in the Protectionist interest, but no Free-trader is yet announced, although their cause stands much better than in the other division of the county. Mr. G. S. Foljambe has positively declined the invitation sent to him, owing to indisposition, and it is believed that negotiations are on foot with Mr. Gladstone, on behalf of the free-trade cause.

CANDIDATE FOR SOUTH NORTHAMPTONSHIRE.—Captain Vyse, son of Colonel Vyse, of Boughton, near this town, has offered himself for the representation of this division. His principles are precisely those so strongly announced by Mr. Cartwright in that letter of resignation which announced the vacancy now to be filled up.—*Northampton Herald*.

THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND and the Duke of Marlborough actually pay smaller rates in respect of their magnificent domains at Alnwick and Blenheim, than are levied on many inconsiderable farms in the counties of Dorset and Bedford.

THE LATE COLLIERY EXPLOSION AT RISCA, MONMOUTHSHIRE.—The coroner's inquest, which stood adjourned to the 4th instant, has brought its investigations to a close. The jury returned a verdict of "Accidental death." Somehow or another "Accidents" become very numerous, and we are rather apprehensive that such verdicts cannot, in all cases, satisfy the community. We are much mistaken if any one can peruse the evidence in this case, without being driven to the conclusion, that human life should be more carefully watched than it is in many instances.

THE FUTURE POLICY OF THE LEAGUE.—At the Bristol Anti-corn-law *soirée* on Wednesday, Mr. R. R. Moore spoke to the following effect on the future policy of the League:—

The best thing they could do, and he spoke advisedly, was to send a deputation to Parliament to ask for immediate repeal. At the same time, if the law was to be continued for three years they should recollect, that the League was formed for the purpose of continuing organised till no corn-laws were left, and he would have them understand, that while the League offered no factious opposition to the present measure, it would not dissolve until entire abolition had taken place [loud cheers]. Let not their opponents imagine it was to be got rid of. During the three years they would continue their work in the registration courts, would keep their whole registration staff in array. In every county in England they had their officers and their canvassing agents. In a large number of boroughs they had the means of operating legally and constitutionally. It should be borne in mind, that this system had been the means of bringing refractory Protectionists to vote for repeal. He would have them understand, then, that the League would not break their pledge—would not leave their work undone—but would go on so long as there remained anything further to do. But let the corn-law be repealed and the people have the liberty to feed themselves, and the League, potent as it is, would lay its power down.

EXECUTION OF BRYAN SEERY, AT MULLINGAR.—Some time since, Sir Francis Hopkins was shot at by a man in Westmeath; Sir Francis tried to seize the assassin, but he escaped; and afterwards one Seery was captured. The sole witness to the prisoner's identity with the assassin was the prosecutor: the defence was the common Irish defence—*alibi*; which was of course sworn to stoutly, as it always is in Ireland. One jury could not agree to the verdict, two Roman Catholics standing out against conviction: a second jury condemned the man; efforts to procure commutation of his sentence failed, and he was left for execution on Friday last. The scene of his execution, at Mullingar, is thus described by an eye-witness:—"About ten o'clock all the shops were closed, and not a single human being was to be seen in the streets—not one individual came in from the country. Thus the people determined to mark their opinion of this awful tragedy—for all regard Seery as a martyr. At eleven o'clock the military were paraded before the gaol; and not one human being appeared before the scaffold but themselves and the police. Even the magistrates of the county stayed away—not one of them appeared, except Mr. Uniacke, who walked up and down with Captain Despard. At eleven o'clock the sheriff came to the prison. The Rev. Mr. Savage then called on the sheriff, and asked him to be a witness to the following declaration, which the prisoner was anxious to make:—"I, Bryan Seery, now a prisoner in the gaol of Mullingar, and to be executed this day, do most solemnly and sincerely declare, in the presence of that God before whom I must shortly appear for judgment, that I never fired at Sir Francis Hopkins; that I never committed any act tending to injure him in person or property; and that I never was cognizant of, or party to, any conspiracy or plot to shoot or injure the said Sir Francis Hopkins; and that I am not guilty, directly or indirectly, of the crime for which I am to be hanged." The sheriff said he did not wish to be a witness to the dying man's declaration. Then the Rev. Mr. Savage went to the prisoner and said, "The hour is come." The prisoner took the crucifix in his hand, and said, "I take up the cross to follow Christ, and I declare I am innocent of this crime." When he arrived at the scaffold he calmly looked at the police and cavalry, and in a loud, distinct, and firm tone, declared before his God that he had neither act, hand, part, or knowledge, in the crime for which he was to be hanged there. He then retired, the rope was fixed, again he calmly walked out, the drop fell, and in a few moments Seery ceased to live. The body was taken home by the friends of the deceased, and will be interred on Sunday next. It is the general opinion, that hundreds of thousands will attend his funeral, though not one person, except the military and police, was at the execution."

MINISTERIAL RESIGNATIONS.—Sir George Cockburn and Rear-Admiral Bowles have, it is currently rumoured, resigned their seats at the Board of Admiralty. The appointment of Captain Rous is the reason assigned for these resignations. The *Morning Post* hinted, some time ago, that Earl Delawarr had been persuaded, by the Queen, not to press the resignation of his office as Lord Chamberlain of the Household. The same paper now says that he has actually resigned. The *Post* also announces that Lord Forester has resigned the captaincy of the Gentlemen-at-arms.

DESPERATE AFFRAYS.—A series of desperate affrays commenced on Tuesday on the Lancaster and Carlisle railway, between the English and Irish labourers, the former alleging that the latter were working under wages. The several parties mustered hundreds strong, armed with pokers, knives, pitchforks, &c. The English, being the most numerous, beat back the Irish, and then proceeded to perpetrate a series of most disgraceful outrages on such of the Irish as fell into their hands, and several men were left for dead. At one place they entered a number of huts inhabited by the Irish, smashed the furniture, turned out the women and children, and burnt the huts to the ground. The troops were called out, and after the Riot Act had been read, they charged the English, and dispersed them. Up to Wednesday evening, however, tranquillity had not been restored, and both parties were again expected to assemble in great force. The inhabitants of the town of Penrith (Cumberland) were in the greatest alarm, the town being alternately occupied by the combatants.

THE PEASANTRY AND THE CORN-LAWS.

On Tuesday night last, a moonlit meeting of the "protected" hewers of wood and drawers of water in the agricultural county of Wilts, was held at Bremhill, an unheard-of little hamlet, lying between the Great Western railway and the quiet rural town of Calne.

These meetings of the peasantry, originating with themselves, springing from no ducal pints of beer, and at which labourers speak what they actually feel—at which they tell their own stories, and interchange the sad history of their slow starvation—are very curious signs of these changing times. Who would have thought, a year or two back, of men in smock-frocks—the hedgers and ditchers, the wielders of spades and hoes—meeting together; not, unhappily, over good dinners, but in the bleak air of a winter's night, to denounce protection, to accuse it of keeping them hungry, to call the corn-laws "accursed." And, on Tuesday night, women spoke as well as men. It was no ordinary public meeting that. Those who composed it knew nothing of the conventional rules of such assemblages. Hunger was the requisition which brought them together. Women were hungry as well as men, and they did not see why they should not try to bring about better times—fuller dinners.

The meeting originated entirely with the working men. Every influence was brought to bear, first to prevent its taking place, and then to keep the labourers from attending it. The reverend incumbent of the parish did his best to put the affair down. Several farmers also endeavoured to keep the labourers from attending, but they failed altogether.

The character of the speeches was peculiar; they were simply statements—little or no argument was used. Each labourer and labourer's wife told the details of their domestic economy. There was little or no variation in the story. Families of from four to twelve persons—wages at an average of eight shillings a week for the father, eked out in some cases by the "twopence a day" received by his boys. As for food, all they had was potatoes, and, as one of the speakers strikingly phrased it, "stark naked bread." The proceedings went off very quietly.

The proceedings commenced soon after seven, when there were probably about 1,500 persons present—clustered in a dense mass round the stone cross and the canvass tent. A labourer, Job Gingle, took the chair, that is to say, perched himself on one of the higher stone steps which supported the cross, thus forming a sort of apex to the pyramidal group which clustered round it. Then by the flicker of a morsel of candle, held by himself, he proceeded to read the bill calling the meeting together. Job stated, that he was a labouring man, with a wife and seven children, and his wages were 8s. a week. His wife earned 9d. a week, two of his sons 2s., and one of them 1s. 6d., making their total income 12s. 3d. a week, or £31 17s. a year. Rent took away £3 10s.; fuel, £2 12s.; shoes, £2 18s. 6d.; clothing, £2 12s.; soap, candles, &c., £1 5s. 11d. There then remained £18 4s. to feed nine people for twelve months. Three-halfpence a-day per head was the allowance enjoyed by the labouring population under "protection!" "I be protected," said he, in conclusion, "and I be starving."

Mr. GALE, from London, here introduced himself, to assure the meeting that they were suffering, not from the corn-laws, but from agricultural machinery; but the working classes are no longer to be caught with this "chaff," so Mr. Gale got no hearing.

JOHN BATCHELOR, of Pewsey, corroborated the chairman's statements, and said he had been employed to drag carts like a horse! He moved a resolution for the repeal of the corn-laws.

HENRY DREW, of Lockeridge, said he seldom knew what it was to have a bellyful of victuals. Bread and potatoes were the best diet the labourers had. He moved a resolution pledging the meeting to promote a free-trade petition among the labourers.

CHARLES KINGELL, of Preston, in Hillmartin parish, seconded the motion, and it was carried by acclamation.

The most extraordinary feature of the meeting, however, was, that the wives of the labourers—the mothers of the "noble peasantry"—were among the speakers. The first speaker was a middle-aged woman.

My name, she began, is LUCY SIMPKINS. I am from Preston. I am the wife of a labouring man. I have had seven children, all born in lawful wedlock. There are five living—two I buried. I have a boy seven years of age. He works for 3d. a day; but he can't keep himself entirely on that, and the rest of the family must be supported from my husband's wages. No boy, friends, of seven years of age could keep himself on 3d. a day [cries of "It be 'ant likely."]. Well, we can't do with less than seven gallons of bread, and we pay 8d. for it, and that is a little allowance for eight people to live seven days on ["True."]. We are forced to go about with hungry bellies after we rise in the morning, and it is very hard to have poor dear little children, who don't know anything about the protection that makes bread dear, crying for food, and you have nothing to give them [hear, hear]. Yes, and when I was confined last, I had nothing to eat from one o'clock one day until four o'clock the next day [shame, shame]. I wished I had a good jug of gruel; but a poor labouring woman like myself came in and said, "I have brought you something to eat—bread with sugar on it. I had no cheese, or I would have brought that" [shame]. And recollect neighbours, this is under a protecting law [a voice: "I am a witness to the truth of what she says."]. My husband is not a drunkard, nor anything of the kind, but a good husband to me, and a good father to his children, but he can't make his money go farther than it will [hear, hear]. Many a Monday morning I say to him, "Well, how be we to get through this week, we have no food and no fire." Well, but Saturday comes, and we have got through—but, how, I don't rightly know. We manage it somehow. But that aint living ["No more it be"]. What will 8s. a week do among so many people [groans]? I have been obliged to tell my children that I would beat them if they cried for hunger ["You are forced to do so poor woman"]. Yes, indeed I was; but if free-trade will make bread cheap, then I want free-trade [loud cheers].

MARY FERRIS, of Charlcot, Bremhill, here stood forward with a resolution to propose. It was a somewhat singular one, but, nothing daunted, she read it as follows [I again copy verbatim]:—

"That a public meeting of females be held to give the wives of the agricultural labourers an opportunity of making known the distress which they have experienced under the corn laws." [Loud cries of "Free-trade for ever!" greeted this extraordinary resolution].

The proposer went on:—

We poor women do suffer much. I have been forced to go and cut nettles to boil for my children [shame]. I have picked sacks of challuck (or some such name—the local term for a species of wild plant) to give my children to eat [groans]. Somebody told me that challucks would kill my children; but I thought to myself that it would be as well to die with a bellyful, as to famish for want of a bellyful ["So it be"]. We have eight to feed in family; and, when we get our money, that is, 8s. a week, there are ten things to be done with it [hear, hear]. Then, may God bless the Queen, and give us cheap food. It is not the dressing machines, but the dear bread that we complain of. We be very bad off indeed; and I ax any one here to say if what I spoke is false.

Here the resolution, although it had not been seconded, was declared carried. Several other speakers followed, after which the meeting peaceably departed.

[We have learned (says the *Wilts Independent*, in reporting this meeting) that Mr. S. Jefferies, of Spirthill, has discharged five of his labourers, all men of good character, and all of whom have worked for him several years, for attending the meeting.]

THE FORCE OF CONSCIENCE.—A young man named Henry Williams presented himself at the private door of Worship-street police-court a few days since, and stating that he had committed a robbery in October last, asked the gaoler to take him into custody. The gaoler was incredulous; and, thinking he was being hoaxed, was about to shut the door in the man's face; but the self-accuser forced his way into the passage, and exhibited such determination to become a prisoner, that the gaoler at length admitted and questioned him, when he stated, that at the time before-mentioned he was in the service of a hair-dresser and tobacconist, named Bell, at Eccles, in Lancashire, and being called upon to serve an Irish cattle-jobber with some snuff, observed that the customer placed a canvass bag upon the counter while gratifying his olfactories, and went out without it. On examining the bag, which he was induced to do from surprise at its weight, he found between eighty and ninety sovereigns in it, and the value being too great a temptation for his honesty, he immediately absconded, without any notice to his employer, to Liverpool. There he spent the whole of the money in less than a fortnight, and being afraid to return to his friends at Eccles and Manchester, came to town in search of employment; this he succeeded in obtaining at two houses in Old-street, but the robbery he had committed brought on such a depression of spirits that, for the relief of his mind, he resolved upon surrendering himself into custody, and undergoing whatever punishment might attach to his offence. This statement the man repeated to the magistrate, and it having, upon communication with Mr. Bell, his late employer, and Mr. Ducie, the superintendent of the Lancashire constabulary at Pendleton, been found to be entirely correct, the latter person sent a local constable to London to convey him to Manchester for trial, and the conscience-stricken thief quitted the court in the custody of the officer much gratified, and evidently relieved of a load of care and anxiety.

POPULAR EDUCATION IN BUCKINGHAMSHIRE AND ITS VICINITY.—On Tuesday a convention of friends to popular education, which had been convened by Mr. John Hull, of Uxbridge, took place at the Bell Inn, Aylesbury, when thirty-five ministers and laymen attended. Mr. Hull having been called to the chair, stated that various applications having been made to him for assistance and information, and finding that a great desire had recently sprung up to open day schools on the Royal British plan, in many localities in the county and its environs, he had deemed it right to issue a circular to invite the friends of education to attend a convention that day, and he was glad to find so many friends to the cause of education had given their countenance to the object. A variety of statistical information was laid before the meeting, and many facts were stated showing the great lack of education in the agricultural districts. Many letters also were read from persons who could not conveniently attend. From the whole a strong conviction was produced, that the present condition of a large proportion of the children of the labouring classes, rendered it highly necessary that increased efforts should be made for their social improvement and moral elevation. An association was then formed, to be called "The Association for the Promotion of Education in Buckinghamshire and its vicinity." The plan of instruction having been laid down, its objects defined, and a committee appointed, a scheme for raising £2,500 in the next two years was adopted, and it was resolved that the whole should be printed and circulated. The secretaries (*pro tem.*) were desired to call another convention, on some future day, at the same place.—*Oxford Chronicle.*

THE TYNE MERCURY.—On Wednesday, the proprietors of this newspaper, which has been published upwards of forty-three years, announced the close of its independent existence. It is to be incorporated with the *Newcastle Guardian*, of which the first number is to appear on Saturday next.—*Gateshead Observer.*

ANOTHER CLERICAL DELINQUENT.—In the Arches Court, on Thursday, Sir H. J. Fust suspended the Rev. Henry Creswell, vicar of Creech St. Michael, Somerset, from performing the duties of his office for eighteen months, for having addicted himself to spirituous liquors, and having used indecent and profane language in his parish. Mr. Creswell was also adjudged to pay the costs of the suit. [In eighteen months the rev. delinquent will, we presume, be "whitewashed," and ready to resume his sacred functions. Really, Sir H. Jenner Fust, with his lenient judgments, seems to us one of the greatest "enemies to the church" in her Majesty's dominions.]

A large public meeting was held at Doncaster on Tuesday last, at which petitions to Parliament were unanimously adopted in favour of entire and immediate free-trade.

THE FAMILY COMPANION.

O'CONNELL.—A late correspondent of the *Liverpool Chronicle* gives the following description of the declining state of Mr. O'Connell's health:—"Daniell O'Connell is breaking up; he no longer treads the ground firmly, and walks fast with carriage *debonnaire*. 'Poor Dan's a cold,' and creeps along with chin resting on breast-bone, or would rest there but for the ample folds which pillow it up and keep him warm. I never saw such a change in a human being as that which O'Connell presented, yesterday, in the Strand, compared with the burly and active man of last year. Unable to creep—there is no other word for it—he hailed a cab, or rather, I should say, the cabman, seeing the enfeebled state of the old man, hailed the great Liberator, who immediately groped into the vehicle with a sigh!"

AN AMERICAN FUNERAL.—The friends assemble in their usual dress, and, by a numerous muster, rather than by their inky habiliments, testify their regard to the memory of the defunct. As for hearses and mourning coaches, plumes, cloaks, and hatbands, with all the other tricks of undertakers to make out a long bill for funeral expenses, all such nonsense is unknown in America; whilst the act of sepulture is performed with as much propriety and decency as in London; and, probably, does not cost more than a sovereign! And why should it? This is one of the most glaring follies of my countrymen, and it is to be hoped their good sense will not much longer submit to the tyranny of undertakers.—*Rambles in America.*

CONTEMPORARY FEMALE WRITERS.—The most remarkable feature of our contemporary literature is the extraordinary number of gifted and intellectual females whose contributions to our historical and imaginative literature far exceed in number, as they exceed in learning and genius, that of any previous age. Some critics have deemed the pursuit of literature by females incompatible with their domestic duties; let them deem it—it is an error they will outgrow; the intellect of woman is the guard of her honour—education is her best dowry—the works of her genius her best defence! First, we have Joanna Baillie, whose "Plays on the Passions" are among the loftiest efforts of the female mind. Next Miss Mitford, a writer whose genius has been universally appreciated—full of nature, truth, and tenderness, her village stories will live as long as the language in which they are written. Then we have Mrs. Gore, the witty, sententious, caustic, and highly-gifted novelist. Next Mrs. Southey, who has been called the Cowper of the female poets. Then we have the brilliant, clever, and amusing Lady Morgan, the powerful and characteristic Mrs. S. C. Hall, full of quick perception, accuracy of delineation, and moral tenderness; but the list grows too long and dazzling. I can only allow myself space to enumerate the names of those whose productions shed lustre upon our literary world; but the names alone will, like a talisman, unlock the treasures of genius, and make them visible to memory. They are Miss Edgeworth, Miss Porter, Miss Ferrier, Mrs. Hoffman, Mrs. Grant, Miss Austin, Miss Martineau, Mrs. Fletcher, Mrs. Jameson, Mrs. Ellis, Mrs. Howitt, Miss Strickland, Miss Roscoe, Miss Pardoe, Mrs. Shelley, Miss Barratt, Lady Blessington, Lady Wortley, Mrs. C. B. Wilson, Miss Roberts, Miss Cook, Miss Toulmin, Miss Costello, Mrs. Stone, and many others. And last, not least, Mrs. Hemans, the Hon. Mrs. Norton, and (still retaining her maiden name, and which is the most familiar and dear to all lovers of literature) Miss Landon. From this noble list of illustrious females, we have innumerable works, displaying great power of thought, eloquent facility, critical perception, pathos intensely feminine, spiritual and intellectual expression, harmonised by the most finished and delicate taste, and a sublimity that owes its birth and foundation to the all-sacred fount of religion; for women study the book of nature by the light of the Bible, they read the works of God by the light of God's word! the spirit by which all their poetry, and by which all true poetry is now pervaded and imbued, is the spirit of Christianity.—*Lecture at Manchester, by C. Swain.*

CLEAR THE WAY.

BY CHARLES MACKAY, ESQ.

There's a midnight blackness changing,
Men of thought! be up and stirring
Night and day:
Sow the seed—withdraw the curtain—
Clear the way!
Men of action, aid and cheer them,
As ye may!
There's a fount about to stream,
There's a light about to beam,
There's a warmth about to glow;
There's a flower about to blow,
There's a midnight blackness changing
Into grey;
Men of thought, and men of action,
Clear the way!
Once the welcome light has broken,
Who shall say,
What the unimagined glories
Of the day?
What the evil that shall perish
In its ray?
Aid the dawning, tongue and pen;
Aid it, hopes of honest men;
Aid it, paper—aid it, type—
Aid it, for the hour is ripe,
And our earnest must not slacken
Into play.
Men of thought and men of action,
Clear the way!
Lo! a cloud's about to vanish
From the day:
Lo! the right's about to conquer,
Clear the way!
And a brazen wrong to crumble
Into clay.
With the right that many more
Enter smiling at the door;
With the giant wrong shall fall,
Many others, great and small,
That for ages long have held us
For their prey:
Men of thought, and men of action,
Clear the way!

GLEANINGS.

VERY COMPLIMENTARY.—The most happy marriage I can picture or imagine to myself would be the union of a deaf man to a blind woman.—*Coleridge.*

Of the twenty-five steamers now building for the navy, sixteen will be propelled by screw machinery.

An Irish paper mentions the case of a sick man, at Thornend-gate, who, in a fit of delirium, got up and ate several bank notes, by way of disappointment to his expectant heirs.

BRIEF BELIEF.—A sceptic once said to the learned Dr. Parr, that he would not believe anything that he could not understand; to which the Doctor wittily replied, "Then, sir, your creed will be the shortest of any man's I know."

A bunch of strawberries, some of them fully grown, were gathered in an open border, in the garden of Mr. Whalley, Grosvenor-square, Birkenhead, on Saturday week.—*Liverpool Times.*

Several railways are projected at the Cape of Good Hope.

A spot is now traversing the sun's disc, which is estimated to be 26,000 miles broad, and to cover an area of 1,062,282,000 square miles, or more than five times the number of square miles on the surface of our globe.

A racoon was discovered in the hen-roost of Mr. Clark, of Watnall, Notts, on the 5th inst. No one could say whence he had come. Two game cocks, five fowls, and a duck, were missing. Every one could guess whither they had gone!

Mr. Faraday recently stated, that it did not seem impossible to him that the sun's rays might be found to originate the magnetic force of the earth, and the air and water of our planet might be proved to be the dia-magnetic media in which this condition of the force was eliminated.

NOTTINGHAM.—The Town Council have ordered that the public clocks shall be furnished with three hands, two of them indicating the true time, and the additional one the railway and post-office (London) time.

A MAGPIE.—A lady more remarkable for gossip and spiritual flirtation than practical godliness, was once told by Mr. Hood to beware lest her piety, after all, should prove nothing more than sheer "mag-piety!" Could he have said anything more to the purpose if he had written a "serious" volume?

GOETHE ON SHAKSPEARE.—His characters are like watches with dial-plates of transparent crystal; they show you the hours like others, and the inward mechanism is also visible.

THE PLEASURE OF GIVING.—I am rich enough, and can afford to give away £100 a year. I would not crawl upon the earth without doing a little good. I will enjoy the pleasure of what I give by giving it alive, and seeing another enjoy it. When I die, I should be ashamed to leave enough for a monument, if there were a wanting friend above ground.—*Pope to Swift.*

We read in Scott's notes to the "Border Minstrelsy," that the Grahams of Netherby, originally Scottish, were notorious for generations for the adroitness and frequency with which they shifted their maraudings from one side of the Border to the other—being alternately English or Scottish, as best suited their interests for the time. Sir James retains this shifty ingenuity, and thus contrives to keep his "place."

RECREATIONS.—Let your recreations be manly, moderate, seasonable, and lawful: the use of recreation is to strengthen your labour and sweeten your rest. But there are some so rigid or so timorous, that they avoid all diversions, and dare not indulge lawful delights for fear of offending. These are hard tutors, if not tyrants to themselves; whilst they pretend to a mortified strictness, they are injurious to their own liberty, and the liberality of their Maker.—*Steele.*

NEVER FEAR!—A gentleman, whose house was repairing, went one day to see how the job was getting on; and, observing a quantity of nails lying about, said to the carpenter, "Why don't you take care of these nails? they'll certainly be lost." "No," replied the carpenter, "you'll find them in the bill."

STICKING BY THE STUFF.—Sydney Smith used to relate an anecdote of an old clerical gentleman who had become very unpopular with his parishioners, and then had erected a chapel on the other side of a hill that separated his parish from another. One Sunday morning, his clerk, as he was helping him to put on his surplice, said to him, "Sir, there will be no congregation here this morning; the people are all gone over to the chapel." The old gentleman replied, "Do you see any of the tithe going over the hill?"

A REGAL WRITING-MASTER.—There lately died at Versailles (says one of the Paris journals) a little old man, who always dressed in the style of the last century, and who had in his youth been writing-master to Louis XVII. By a singular coincidence, the functions which he had fulfilled near the person of the Dauphin had been performed by his ancestors, from father to son, from the time of Louis XIII., exclusively. He had, however, nothing to leave at his death to his grand-daughter, a young woman of twenty, but a series of copybooks, written by the several members of the Royal family. On one collection of papers was written the words, "All this was written by Louis XIV. at the age of ten." The young woman found that she had a precious collection of Royal writing, and she has obtained not less than 60,000*fr.* for the portion written by Louis XVII.

MARRIED AND SINGLE.—I have observed that a married man falling into misfortune is more apt to retrieve his situation in the world than a single one; partly because he is more stimulated to exertion by the necessities of the helpless and beloved beings who depend upon him for subsistence; but chiefly because his spirits are soothed and relieved by domestic endearments, and his self-respect kept alive by finding that, though all abroad in darkness and humiliation, yet there is still a little world of love at home, of which he is the monarch. Whereas, a single man is apt to run to waste and self-neglect, to fancy himself lonely and abandoned, and his heart to fall to ruin like some deserted mansion for want of an inhabitant.—*Washington Irving.*

ST. MARYLEBONE BANK FOR SAVINGS.—The 16th annual general meeting of this institution was held on Thursday last, at the office, No. 76, Welbeck-street, Cavendish-square, Dr. J. H. Spry in the chair. It appeared from the several reports read to the meeting, that the progress of this bank continues to be of a very favourable description, no less than 2,418 new deposits having been made in the last year. 16,201 deposit accounts remained open on the 20th of November last, of which no less than 10,628 held balances averaging less than £4 0*s.* 7*d.* each. Upwards of £356,954 was then invested with the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

1. *Patterson's Commentary on the 1st of Thessalonians.*
2. *Every Man his own Landlord.*
3. *The Fallacies of Building Societies.*
4. *The Jewish Herald.* No. II.
5. *Forest and Game Laws.* By HARRIET MARTINEAU.
6. *The Literary Aspirant Magazine.* No. II.
7. *The Folly of Excuses Exposed, for not frequenting the Sacrament of the Lord's-supper.*
8. *The Journal of Health and Disease.*
9. *The London Teetotaler.* No. I.
10. *Robert Hall's Works.* Bohn's Library.
11. *The Native Irish and their Descendants.* By CHRISTOPHER ANDERSON.
12. *The Duties of Sunday School Teachers in relation to State Churches.* No. XII. of the Anti-state-church Tracts.
13. *Life and Pontificate of Leo X.* Bogue's European Library.
14. *D'Aubign's History of the Reformation.* Vol. IV. By H. WHITE, B.A.
15. *Instructions about Heart-work.* By RICHARD ALLRINE, Rector of Batcombe.
16. *Manual of Natural Philosophy.* By J. L. COMSTOCK, M.D., and R. D. HOBLYN, A.M.
17. *Religious Sects, Ceremonies, &c.* Part II. of Book of Entertaining Knowledge.
18. *D'Aubign's Reformation.* By H. BEVERIDGE. Vol. II.
19. *Machinery, as it Affects the Industrious Classes.*

SUCCESS OF NEGRO EMANCIPATION.—Mr. William Smith, resident director of the Jamaica railway, was present at the opening dinner of the line, on the 21st of November, and "bore testimony" to the fact, that "the negroes were noble fellows."

"Look," said he (in the presence of the Governor, Lord Elgin), "at the crowds of native youths brought to us to be indentured as apprentices, and whom a few years will produce to you as skilled engineering artisans; and above all, let me call to your particular notice the triumphant practical refutation which their works furnish to the assertion, that the enfranchised negro will not work for wages. Gentlemen, this is a subject upon which I could be eloquent, but my heart swells and my voice thickens when I think of it. We have never known what it was to want willing and continuous labour. We have had constantly at work 500 people not confined to any particular class—mechanics and small freeholders—working side by side with men who were before the constant inhabitants of the workhouse; and it may with confidence and truth be stated, that the 500 free-men have done the work of 1,500 slaves!" [loud cheering.]

The inhabitants of Leicester have determined to erect a monument, by public subscription, to the memory of Mr. Brown, late vicar of St. Mary's, in that town. The committee appointed to carry the design into effect, includes clergymen, Dissenting ministers, and laymen of various religious denominations.

THE MILITIA.—The National Association for promoting the political and social improvement of the people have just issued a remarkably powerful address to the working classes, on the subject of the militia, which we heartily commend to their attention.—The Sheffield petition against the enrolment of the militia received upwards of sixteen thousand signatures.—During the past week there have been peace and anti-militia meetings at Norwich, Sunderland, and Scarborough, and various towns in Norfolk. Among the energetic denouncers of the scheme at the Norwich meeting, were Messrs. Brock, Reed, and Wheeler, Dissenting ministers of the town. Mr. Sydney Herbert (says the *Birmingham Pilot*) need not tell us that there will be no ballot, for we have the fact before us, that in Scotland the schedules are already out, and the process of balloting, as heretofore conducted when the militia were enrolled, is now in actual progress there.

THE POST-OFFICE AND RAILWAYS.—The Post-office has accepted the liberal offer of the Brighton Company to carry a bag of letters by every train gratis. As the South Eastern, following the Brighton's good example, made a similar proffer, we presume that has been treated in like manner.

POTATO RIOTS AT INVERNESS.—There were serious riots last week at Inverness, in consequence of the railway labourers and the town mob having interfered to prevent the exportation of potatoes. The military were obliged to interfere, but no lives were lost. The accounts from Inverness, down to Tuesday, represent the inhabitants as keeping within doors, and the soldiers within their quarters. To relieve their apprehension of scarcity, one farmer caused the town-crier to give notice that he was ready to supply the inhabitants with potatoes in any quantity. The price is 1*s.* 6*d.* per boll; being double the price of potatoes in ordinary seasons. A candle-manufactory, belonging to Mr. Forsyth, was burned down on Monday; and the surmise is, that the fire originated in a spirit of revenge. Several of the more audacious rioters have been apprehended. During the encounter with the military, some stabs were given; but the sufferers are recovering. One soldier was dangerously wounded on the head with a stone. A letter dated Feb. 11th, says, "Peace may now be said to be established. There were no potatoes to-day in the market, yet a cargo has been shipped while no obstruction has been offered. All the prisoners taken are yet in custody."

MR. COBDEN'S HEALTH.—Mr. Cobden has recovered from his recent and severe indisposition, and is able to leave his residence. He will, it is expected, attend the adjourned debate on the corn-laws, though it is doubtful whether he will be able to take any part in it.

Dr. Speer, a Scottish gentleman, has accomplished the ascent of the Watterhorn, one of the highest points of the Bernese mountains, and hitherto unaccomplished by human effort.

SERIOUS ACCIDENT TO THE REV. EDWARD BICKERSTETH.—We regret to hear that the Rev. Edward Bickersteth, rector of Watton, has met with an accident of a serious nature, and which might have proved fatal. On Wednesday last, he was coming in a one-horse carriage from Watton to Ware, there to meet the train for London, where he had to attend the committee of the proposed Evangelical Alliance, of which he is one of the secretaries. Within a short distance of Ware, he

overtook a cart laden with flour-sacks, at the moment that another cart laden with bricks was passing in the opposite direction. In trying to pass between the two, Mr. Bickersteth's carriage was caught by the cart coming from Ware, with such force, that he was thrown over the head of his own horse under the wheel of the cart which he was passing. The wheel passed over his legs, neither of which, wonderful to say, was fractured, though his left leg is seriously injured. He also received severe wounds on his head, from the fall; but his own vehicle was providentially hindered from passing over him. Some time elapsed before medical aid could be obtained, previously to which Mr. Bickersteth had been removed, in a state of insensibility, to the house at the toll-bar. Mr. Reilly, of Ware, was first in attendance. Mr. Bickersteth's medical attendant, from Watton, was then sent for, who conveyed him to the rectory, which he reached about the middle of the day. We are happy to hear, that Mr. Bickersteth is considered to be out of danger, though he suffers intense pain, and is likely to be confined to his room for a considerable time.—*Hertford Mercury*.

MAIZE, OR INDIAN CORN.—Maize, or Indian corn, is the farinaceous food in general use in the rural districts of the United States. Upon it children thrive and adults labour, without the assistance of wheat. It is prepared in an infinite variety of ways—in cakes, in puddings, in the form of bread, &c. &c.; and possesses a superiority to barley in powers of sustenance, in flavour, and in expansibility during the process of cooking. It can be sold at the port of shipment at half a dollar per bushel; its freight across the Atlantic would be about eighteen cents per bushel; and, if admitted into England duty free, it could be ground into meal or flour at a cost of 6½ cents more, making in all seventy-five cents, or three quarters of a dollar. Allowing, in addition to this, twenty-five cents for retail profits, the article could be sold at one dollar a bushel in the manufacturing towns, or about four shillings and fourpence sterling.—A correspondent has forwarded to the *Times* two specimens of bread; one made of equal quantities of English and Indian corn, and the second entirely of the latter, on which the editor remarks, that the bread is—although rather of a yellower colour than the ordinary best wheat bread—extremely light, and of good quality and flavour. If not perhaps equal to the very best bread, it is infinitely superior to that sold by many of our bakers, and to much of that manufactured from the damaged wheat of the late harvest.

COLONISATION OF THE HOLY LAND.—At a meeting of gentlemen interested in the welfare of the Jewish people, held the other day in London, it was resolved to establish a society, to be called "The British and Foreign Society for Promoting the Colonisation of the Holy Land." The society is to be restricted to the making necessary preparations to facilitate the realisation of the gradual colonisation of Palestine, and the present protection and promotion of the civil and religious rights and liberties of the Jewish people in every part of the world. It was also resolved, that the committee should consist alike of Jews and Christians, Englishmen and Foreigners, and invite the co-operation of politicians and good men, of every country, sect, and rank; that the society be entirely silent and neutral as to every point of religious controversy, and that its secretaries and agents shall have nothing to do with proselytism in any form; and that its object be restricted at present to the making of efforts with a view to excite the interest and obtain the influence of the Government and of the nation at large, preparatory to any final arrangement as to any particular plan for the best mode of establishing a prosperous colony.

THE LANDOWNERS AND REPEAL.—We understand that James Adam Gordon, Esq., is about to propose to his numerous tenantry, that should they be under any apprehensions as to the effects likely to be produced by the abolition of the corn-laws, he is perfectly willing, on proper notice being given, to take their farms off their hands at Lady-day next, instead of holding them to their engagements until Lady-day, 1847.—*Bristol Mercury*.

THE ANTI-CORN-LAW LEAGUE.—The West Riding contributions to the League fund are now upwards of £38,000.—A tea meeting of the League was held on Wednesday afternoon, at the Liberal-rooms, Broadmead, Bristol, to make a collection in aid of the £250,000 fund. The chair was taken by Mr. George Thomas, and about 600 persons, of both sexes, were addressed by the chairman, Mr. G. Armstrong, Colonel Thompson, Mr. R. R. R. Moore, and others. A collection was made amounting to about £2,600, which has since been increased to £2,755, and will probably reach £3,000. In the course of his telling address, Colonel Thompson adverted to the good results likely to result from the legislative embodiment of free-trade principles:—

Party politics might be well in times when some party question had to be settled, but the present was no party question [hear]. It was the question of mankind and the world [cheers]. All who were unborn were to benefit by it, and there could not come a period in the world's history in which men would not look back with pride and satisfaction to its settlement, and with gratitude to that minister whose instrumentality was able to bring it to a glorious conclusion [cheers]. There were often mistakes made about the inward feelings of political men; they often passed for much worse than was really the case—and at times also he knew for much better—but he did not believe that there was now existing among the political leaders, whatever title they might assume, that jealousy and dread of advancing the popular interests which were sometimes ascribed to them. The evil times had passed away—the old prejudices were rooted up—the subjects of animosity had sunk under them—they were becoming a united people, and he trusted he should soon be able to say, a united world [loud cheers]. Foreigners were already on the alert to give evidence that they went along with us in our prospects. They already presented themselves begging us to accept their thanks for the good we were winning for the great family of mankind. There always was a race of men abroad who lived in hope of the arrival of this opportunity. Commercial wars! There would be no wars. What would they have to do but to carry forward and improve those sources of enjoyment which nature had placed within their reach, and to store up that knowledge which was the only

thing in the world worthy of a good man's ambition [cheers]?

A second meeting of the members of the Bristol branch of the League was held on Friday night, and was numerously attended. R. R. Moore, Esq., in the course of a lengthened and able address, announced that the League had won East Somerset, and that, at the next election, Col. Gore Langton would be returned with some member of consonant opinions.

BIRTHS.

Feb. 12, at Bury Farm, Edmonton, the lady of GEORGE ELLIS, Esq., of a daughter.

Feb. 13, Mrs. THOMAS GURNEY, of Devonshire-place, Wandsworth-road, of a daughter.

Feb. 14, at Lavender-hill, the lady of JOSEPH GURNEY, Esq., of a son.

MARRIAGES.

Feb. 4, at the Independent Chapel, Wymondham, Norfolk, by Mr. J. G. Pigg, CHARLES GEORGE BRIGHTON, of Norwich, to SARAH ANN SMITH, of Wymondham.

Feb. 5, WILLIAM READ, to SOPHIA SWEETMAN, of Wymondham.

Feb. 9, at the Independent chapel, Masborough, by Mr. Joseph Bottomley, minister, Mr. WILLIAM SYKES, of Sowerby, near Halifax, manufacturer, to Miss SARAH DAWES, of Rotherham.

Feb. 10, at Dover-street chapel, Leicester, by the pastor, Mr. J. Goadby, Mr. JOHN BISHOP, to ELIZA, third daughter of Mr. S. GROOMCOCK, of the Belvoir-street, both of this town.

Feb. 12, at the Independent chapel, Fareham, by Mr. John Varty, minister, Mr. GEORGE HENRY WRATSON, late of Portchester, to Miss MARTHA DABBY, eldest daughter of Mr. G. DABBY, of Fareham.

Feb. 14, at Stepney Meeting, by Mr. Hugh Sanderson Seaborn, minister of Coverdale chapel, MICHAEL JOHN CASTLEDEN, Esq., of the General Register Office, Somerset-house, and grandson of Michael Castleden, Woburn, Beds., to MARIANNE, only daughter of the late Robert Bosley, Esq.

Feb. 14, at the Square chapel, Halifax, by the pastor, Mr. Alexander Ewing, M.A., Mr. JOHN BELL KERR, draper, to HELEN ZIBAH, eldest daughter of Mr. William Birch, blacksmith, all of Halifax.

Feb. 14, at the Independent chapel, Driffield, Mr. ANGUS, of the firm of Angus and Wilson, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, to SARAH, second daughter of Mr. C. ANGUS, of Newick.

Feb. 14, at the Independent chapel, Doncaster, Mr. WILLIAM DARLEY, of Wadworth, to ELIZA SHIRTLEIFF, daughter of Mr. G. WOODWARD, gunsmith, Doncaster.

Feb. 19, at the Independent chapel, Basingbourne, by Mr. John Harsant, minister, Mr. JOHN RISLEY WALDOCK, of Basingbourne Mills, to ANN, eldest daughter of Mr. Samuel HOPKINS, of the same place.

DEATHS.

Feb. 7, after an illness of four days, Mr. WILLIAM RICHARDSON, of Woodbourne, Shepton Mallett, aged 57, deeply lamented by a large circle of friends.

Feb. 9, at 69, Lower Grosvenor-street, London, aged 59, HENRY GALLY KNIGHT, Esq., M.P.

Feb. 9, at Broadwinor, of apoplexy, aged 62, Mr. JAMES DEVENISH, many years a resident of Sydling, Dorset, and a liberal supporter of the cause of Christ in that village.

Feb. 13, after a severe and painful affliction, endured with Christian patience and fortitude, HENRY HICKMAN, Wesleyan minister, Derby.

TRADE AND COMMERCE.

Friday, February 13.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to an act of 6 and 7 William IV., cap. 85:—

Wesleyan Chapel, Bramley, Yorkshire.

Aldborough Independent Chapel, Aldborough, Yorkshire.

Wesleyan Association Chapel, Whitehaven, Cumberland.

BANKRUPTS.

ALBERTON, WILLIAM SIBSON, Chancery-lane, steel pen manufacturer, Feb. 24, March 24: solicitors, Messrs. Mayhew and Son, Carey-street; and Messrs. Haywood and Co., Birmingham.

BAKER, CHARLES JAMES, and EASTWOOD, EDWARD JAMES, City, warehousemen, Feb. 20, March 20: solicitors, Messrs. Reed and Langford, Friday-street, Cheapside; and Messrs. Sale and Co., Manchester.

BRADLEY, WILLIAM, Leeds, flax-spinner, Feb. 24, March 16: solicitors, Messrs. Robinson and Co., Essex-street, London; and Messrs. Ward and Son, Leeds.

BROWN, GILBERT, Shiffnell, Shropshire, banker, Feb. 26, March 21: solicitors, Mr. T. R. T. Hodgson, Birmingham; and Messrs. Vincent and Co., Temple, London.

CHESBOR, WILLIAM, Commercial-road, Stepney, cooper, Feb. 20, March 27: solicitors, Messrs. Brown and Co., Commercial Sale-rooms, Mincing-lane.

CRONK, RICHARD WIDEN, Seal, Kent, grocer, Feb. 20, March 21: solicitors, Messrs. Waterman and Co., Essex-street, Strand; and Mr. Carnell, Sevenoaks.

HOLDSWORTH, WILLIAM, Adwalton, Yorkshire, corn-miller, Feb. 24 and March 17: solicitors, Mr. Forster, Bradford; and Mr. Cariss, Leeds.

JONES, FREDERICK, Canterbury, wine-merchant, Feb. 26, March 28: solicitors, Messrs. Lawrance and Plews, Bucklersbury.

KENT, ROBERT, Elstree, Hertfordshire, victualler, Feb. 24, March 21: solicitor, Mr. H. Lloyd, Milk-street, Cheapside.

LAMBERT, ROBERT, Liverpool, manufacturing chemist, Feb. 27, March 24: solicitors, Messrs. Fletcher and Hull, Liverpool.

LEWIS, RICHARD, Wootton-under-edge, Gloucestershire, woollen manufacturer, March 5 and 30: solicitors, Messrs. Timbrell and Merrick, Bradford, Wiltshire; and Messrs. Jones and Blaxland, Crosby-square, London.

NAYLOR, HENRY MOORE, Birmingham, haberdasher, Feb. 26, March 18: solicitors, Messrs. Heywood and Webb, Birmingham; and Messrs. Mayhew and Son, Carey-street, Lincoln's Inn, London.

PRENTICE, GEORGE, Tollesbury, Essex, fishmonger, Feb. 24, March 24: solicitor, Mr. Henry Compigne, Bucklersbury.

REYNOLDS, THOMAS, Cow-cross-street, cheesemonger, Feb. 24, March 24: solicitor, Mr. W. H. Turner, Mount-place, Whitechapel-road.

ROBSON, CHARLES OSWALD, Finsbury-street, Finsbury-square, plasterer, Feb. 20, March 28: solicitors, Messrs. Reed and Langford, Friday-street, Cheapside.

ROSS, JOHN, and BURTON, ENOCH, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, flour-dealers, Feb. 23, April 7: solicitors, Mr. H. Story, Newcastle-upon-Tyne; and Mr. F. H. Plumtree, Temple, London.

YOUNG, JAMES, Salford, Essex, shipowner, Feb. 20, March 27: solicitor, Mr. Marriott, New Inn.

DIVIDENDS.

Ayshford Wise, William Searle Bentall, and Robert Farwell, Tottenham, Devonshire, bankers; third div. of 4d., and 6d. 6d. on new profits; and a second div. of 4s., and 6s. on new profits, on the separate estate of W. S. Bentall, any Tuesday; Paul-street, Exeter—Richard Jackson and Richard Yale, Leeds, engineers; first div. of 5s., any Monday; 14, Bishopsgate-street, Leeds—Thomas Mennell, Leeds, cloth-merchant, final div. of 3d., any Monday; 14, Bishopsgate-street, Leeds.

Tuesday, Feb. 17.

The following buildings are certified as places duly registered for solemnising marriages, pursuant to an act of the 6th and 7th William IV., c. 85:—

Wesleyan chapel, Barton St. Peter, Lincolnshire.

Wesleyan chapel, Crediton, Devonshire.

DECLARATION OF INSOLVENCY.

HAWKINS, JOHN, formerly of Maidenhead, Berkshire, but now of Hurst, butcher, Feb. 16.

BANKRUPTS.

BARFIELD, AUGUSTUS THOMAS ANTHONY, (trading under the name of Augustus De Lainey), Bristol, artist, March 3, 31: solicitor, Mr. W. Braikewridge, Bartlett's-buildings, Holborn, London.

BLACKER, ROWLAND HILL, and EARTH, CHARLES, jun., Gresham-street, City, warehousemen, March 27, 31: solicitors, Messrs. Sole and Co., Aldermanbury.

BONELLA, WILLIAM, formerly of 57, Worship-street, Finsbury, cabinet-maker, Feb. 23, March 31: solicitor, Mr. J. H. Taylor, 38, Moorgate-street.

DAVIS, WILLIAM, Strangeways, Lancashire, plasterer, March 2,

23: solicitors, Mr. John Law, Manchester; and Messrs. Gregory and Co., Bedford-row, London.

FISHER, WILLIAM, 11, York-place, St. John's-wood, and 17, Ordinance-place, St. John's-wood, commission agent, Feb. 27, March 27: solicitor, Mr. Austin, St. Swinith's-lane.

HART, MARY, Chewton Mendip, Somersetshire, victualler, March 2, 31: solicitors, Mr. Edmund Davies and Mr. Samuel Hobbs, Wells.

HARRISON, SAMUEL, Poole, provision-merchant, Feb. 27, March 31: solicitors, Messrs. Parr, Poole.

METCALFE, THOMAS, 1, Princes-street, Red Lion-square, carpenter, Feb. 28, March 27: solicitor, Mr. Rivolt, Bloomsbury-square.

PINNER, JOHN, 2, Regent-place, Globe-road, Mile-end road, undertaker, Feb. 23, March 31: solicitors, Messrs. Kingdon and Co., Clifford's-inn.

POULESTON, JOHN, Birkenhead, Cheshire, builder, Feb. 27, March 24: solicitors, Messrs. Humphrys and Co., 43, Chancery-lane, London; and Messrs. Keighly and Banning, Liverpool.

SMYRK, EDWARD, 9, Hill-street, Windmill-street, Finsbury, upholsterers' fringe manufacturer, March 6, 27: solicitor, Mr. H. T. Roberts, 2, Bride-court, Fleet-street.

SYMES, THOMAS, Uplyme, Devonshire, draper, March 5, 26: solicitor, Mr. Stedman, Messrs. Humphrys and Co., Basinghall-street, London.

WILKINSON, JONAS, and WILKINSON, ZACCHAEUS, Bradford, Yorkshire, worsted stuff manufacturers, March 2, 23: solicitors, Messrs. Gregory and Co., Bedford-row, London; Mr. Wavill, Halifax; and Mr. Courtenay, Leeds.

SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

DEWAR, JAMES, or BURDEN, JAMES DEWAR, Feddal near Braco, wright, Feb. 24, March 21.

TANNAHILL, P., Paisley and Johnstone, manufacturer, Feb. 20, March 13.

MUNN, A., jun., Glasgow, manufacturer, Feb. 21, March 14.

ZULL, A., Glasgow, spirit merchant, Feb. 20, March 14.

DIVIDENDS.

J. Lilly, Dodderhill and Hanbury, Worcestershire, farmer; first div. of 1s. in the pound, any Friday; Mr. Whitmore's, Birmingham—J. Adamson, Stockport, grocer; first div. of 3s. 10d. on Tuesday, Feb. 24, or any subsequent Tuesday; Mr. Hobson, Manchester—T. Harvey, Wandsworth, innkeeper; sec. div. 4s., on Saturday, Feb. 14, and the three subsequent Saturdays; Mr. Groom, Abchurch lane—R. Edwards, Aberdovey, Merionethshire, draper; first div. of 5s., on Monday, Feb. 16, or any subsequent Monday; Mr. Bird, Liverpool—J. Backhouse, Liverpool, merchant; first div. of 10s., on Monday, Feb. 16, or any subsequent Monday; Mr. Bird, Liverpool.

BRITISH FUNDS.

	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.	Sat.	Mon.	Tues.
3 per cent. Consols ..	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½	96½
Ottio for Account ..	96½	96½	97½	96½	96½	96½
3 per cent. Reduced ..	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½	97½
New 3½ per cent. ..	90½	99	99½	99	98½	98½
Long Annuities ..	10½	10½	10½	—	10½	10½
Bank Stock ..	260	260½	—	208½	208	207½
India Stock ..	260	—	260½	258	259	258
Exchequer Bills ..	38pm	39pm	39pm	39pm	38pm	38pm
India Bonds ..	—	—	—	49	38	45

FOREIGN FUNDS.

Belgian ..	98½	Mexican ..	30½
Brazilian ..	83	Peruvian ..	39
Buenos Ayres ..	40½	Portuguese 5 per cent. ..	27½
Columbian ..	18½	Ditto converted ..	61
Danish ..	89½	Russian ..	113
Dutch 2½ per cent. ..	60½	Spanish Active ..	28
Ditto 4 per cent. ..	95	Ditto Passive ..	62
French 3 per cent. ..	84	Ditto Deferred ..	10½

RAILWAY SHARES.

Birmingham & Gloucester ..	129½	London & Croydon Trunk ..	22½
Blackwall ..	94	London and Greenwich ..	—
Bristol and Exeter ..	89	Ditto New ..	—
Eastern Counties ..	22½	Manchester and Leeds ..	135
Edinburgh and Glasgow ..	79	Midland Counties ..	152
Grand Junction ..	—	Ditto New Shares ..	28½
Great North of England ..	—	Manchester and Birm'g ..	78½
Great Western ..	166	Midland and Derby ..	122
Ditto Half ..	91	Norwich and Brandon ..	26
Ditto Fifth ..	36½	South Eastern and Dover ..	39½
London and Birmingham ..	229	South Western ..	73
London & Birm. ½ Shares ..	28	Trent Valley ..	23
London and Brighton ..	67½	York and North Midland ..	101

MARKETS.

MARK LANE, MONDAY, Feb. 16.

The protracted discussion on the corn-laws keeps our market in a state of suspense and depression, and the business passing in every article is confined to immediate want and consumption. The arrivals of English wheat continue small, and the dry samples meet a ready sale at full prices; and inferior descriptions sell slowly at last week's currency. A few parcels of bonded wheat have changed hands, generally at a slight reduction on late prices. Flour meets a slow sale without change in its value. The trade continues depressed for barley, and all descriptions are 1s. per qr. lower. Beans and grey peas are unaltered in value. White peas are 1s. per qr. lower. The arrivals of oats are moderate, and generally of an inferior quality. Heavy Irish and the best English sell readily; other qualities meet a dull sale, and prices remain the same as on this day se'night.

Wheat, Red ..	52 to 58	Malt, Ordinary ..	48 to 63
Fine ..	56 to 63	Pale ..	52 to 65
White ..	54 to 63	Rye ..	31 to 40
Flour, per sack ..	30 to 56	Peas, Hog ..	31 to 34
Barley ..	28 to 31	Maple ..	31 to 33
Malt ..	31 to 34	Boilers ..	39 to 48
		Beans, Ticks ..	34 to 50

Beans, Pigeon ..	38 to 43	Wheat ..	17s. 0d.
Harrow ..	32 to 39	Barley ..	7 0
Oats, Feed ..	21 to 23	Oats ..	6 0
Fine ..	23 to 27	Rye ..	8 0
Poland ..	22 to 26	Beans ..	6 6
Potato ..	27 to 30	Peas ..	4 6

WEEKLY AVERAGE FOR FEB. 13.			AGGREGATE AVERAGE OF THE SIX WEEKS.		
Wheat	54s.	3d.	Wheat	55s.	4d.
Barley	30	10	Barley	31	7
Oats	21	7	Oats	21	11
Rye	34	2	Rye	34	4
Beans	35	9	Beans	36	5
Peas	35	6	Peas	37	6

SEEDS, MONDAY, Feb. 16.

Red cloverseed rather dearer; and the fine qualities of white met with some inquiry, but low sorts, and trefoil, continued excessively dull. Canaryseed was easily bought at last Monday's decline, and most other articles were freely offered at the prices then current. Prices:—Rapeseed, £24 to £26 per last; Linseed (Baltic) £40 to £44; Odessa, £45 to £47; Caraway, £44 to £50 per cwt.; Mustard (white) £10 to £12; Linseed cakes (English), £11 10s. to £12 per 1,000; Linseed (English), 45s. to 54s. per qr.

POTATOES, SOUTHWARK, Waterside, Feb. 16.

During the first two or three days there was considerable business done, the buyers being apprehensive that the frost would continue; but at the close the demand was languid, and some of our highest quotations were barely maintained. York reds, 80s. to 130s.; York Regents from 80s. to 110s.; Scotch reds, 40s. to 60s.; fresh supplies from 70s. to 80s.; Jersey blues, 70s.

PROVISIONS, LONDON, Monday, Feb. 16.

During the past week there was a steady demand for Irish butter, and business to a respectable extent was transacted, principally in the best descriptions: we quote—Carlow, 86s. to 100s. landed; Cork, 86s. to 90s.; Limerick, 84s. to 89s.; Waterford, 84s. to 89s.

best Dutch, 84s. to 116s. In the bacon market there was a fair trade in landed parcels; but holders generally being disposed to sell, prices declined about 1s. per cwt. On board there was but little done, the dealers being indisposed to purchase unless for forward shipment, at about our present rates. Prices ranged, as in size and quality, from 46s. to 51s. per cwt. landed. Lard meets a slow sale, at lower prices. Hams in moderate supply, and in fair request.

BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, Feb. 16.

The attendance of buyers being somewhat extensive, the beef trade was steady, at, in some instances, an advance on last week's prices of 2d. per 8lbs. The numbers of sheep were again small, or about 8,000 less than at the corresponding market-day in 1845. Prime old Downes moved off steadily at full prices. In other kinds of sheep comparatively little was doing, yet the quotations were supported.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

Beef 2s. 10d. to 4s. 4d. | Veal 4s. 4d. to 5s. 4d.
Mutton 3 10 .. 5 6 | Pork 3 10 .. 5 2

HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

Beasts.	Sheep.	Calves.	Pigs.
Friday.... 583	3,040	129	310
Monday... 2,708	18,900	53	280

NEWGATE and LEADENHALL MARKETS, Monday, Feb. 16.

Per 8lbs. by the carcass.

Inferior Beef 2s. 6d. to 2s. 8d.	Inf. Mutton 3s. 8d. to 3s. 10d.
Middling do 2 8 .. 2 10	Mid. ditto 4 0 .. 4 2
Prime large 3 0 .. 3 2	Prime ditto 4 4 .. 4 6
Prime small 3 4 .. 3 6	Veal 4 2 .. 5 2
Large Pork 3 8 .. 4 6	Small Pork 4 8 .. 5 2

WOOL.

CITY, Monday.—The wool trade is dull, owing to the approaching public sales. Leeds, Feb. 13.—No great amount of business has been done in this branch of trade during the past week, the manufacturers still observing a considerable degree of caution in their operations. We have no variation to quote in respect to prices since our last.

COTTON.

LIVERPOOL, Feb. 13.—Throughout the week we have had only a moderate demand daily, and consequently the market has gradually lost the firm tone noticed in our last. Prices of American descriptions are now more in favour of buyers, whilst other kinds remain without change.

HAY, SMITHFIELD, Feb. 7.—At per load of 36 trusses.

Meadow 68s. to 88s. | Oat Straw 30s. .. 32s.
Clover Hay 88 .. 112 | Wheat Straw 32 .. 34

COAL EXCHANGE, Feb. 6.

Stewart's, 17s. 0d.; Hetton's, 17s. 0d.; Braddyll's Hetton's, 17s. 6d. Ships arrived this week, 687.

ADVERTISEMENTS.

TO GROCERS and CHEESEMONGERS' ASSISTANTS.—T. Wyles, Gloucester, wants immediately an ASSISTANT, thoroughly acquainted with the above branches of business, competent to superintend a Retail Counter, and attend to the Retail Accounts. An interview must precede an engagement.

ELECTRO SILVERED DEANEAN PLATE.—not to be distinguished from the genuine silver plate.—GEORGE and JOHN DEANE's plate department is replenished with a superb stock of articles wrought out of this beautiful metal. The patterns are quite unique, and the manufacture is strictly the most durable. Candlesticks, tea and coffee sets, cake baskets, table and liqueur cruets, waiters, tea, dessert, and table spoons, dessert and table forks, and every other article usually produced in silver, will be found in their plate show rooms in large variety, and at the manufacturer's prices.

DEANE'S DOUBLY-REGISTERED STULOS COFFEE-POT.—The strictly scientific construction of this article involves two simple processes, which, by their rapid and certain action, secure a run of rich, boiling, aromatic, and brilliant coffee, within five minutes. When the interior cylinder is first filled with boiling water, the latter drives out all the cold air from the body, into which the extract instantly follows. When the cylinder is filled the second time, and is raised to the top of the pot, the tall column of small diameter is, by a well known law of pneumatics, instantly emptied into the pot below, and the coffee is at once ready for use.—GEORGE and JOHN DEANE, opening to the Monument, 46, King William-street, London-bridge.

ACCEPTABLE PRESENTS.—The present season is hallowed by one of the most delightful offices of friendship and affection; the interchange of gifts as remembrances of the donors, and tokens of their esteem for the receivers. The most appropriate present becomes the first subject of consideration; a merely useful one can afford no evidence of taste, while a present possessing no claims to utility shows a want of judgment. To combine these requisites, a more fitting souvenir cannot be suggested than

ROWLAND'S TOILET ARTICLES,

THE
MACASSAR OIL, KALYDOR, and ODONTO,

each of infallible attributes. In creating and sustaining luxuriant silken tresses, Rowland's Macassar Oil is highly and universally appreciated; Rowland's Kalydor is a preparation of unparalleled efficacy in improving and beautifying the skin and complexion; and Rowland's Odonto, or Pearl Dentifrice, is invaluable for its beautifying and preservative effects on the teeth and gums.

The august patronage conceded by our gracious Queen, and the several Sovereigns of Europe, together with the beauties which adorn the circles of princely and regal magnificence, and the confirmation by experience of the infallible efficacy of these creative renovating specifics, have characterised them with perfection, and given them a celebrity unparalleled.

Beware of Spurious Imitations!

See that the word "ROWLAND'S" is on the wrapper of each article.

Sold by them, at 20, Hatton-garden, London; and by Chemists and Perfumers.

NEW MUSIC FOR PIANOFORTE.

THE NEW DANCE MUSIC FOR CHRISTMAS.

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TO FLUTE PLAYERS.

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